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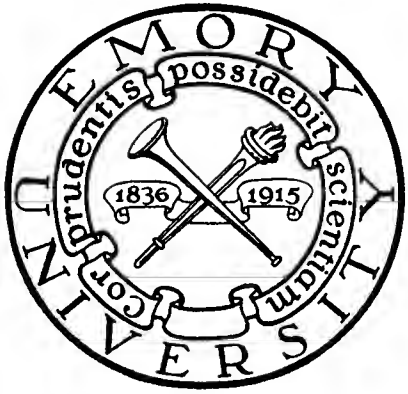

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY THE FOURTH.

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER

HENRY THE FOURTH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY

JAMES HAMILTON WYLIE, M.A.,

One of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

VOL. I.—1399-1404.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1884.

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I DEDICATE THIS VOLUME WITH GRATITUDE

TO THE MEMORY OF

Humphrey Chetham,

FUSTIAN MERCHANT,

FOUNDER OF THE FIRST FREE LIBRARY AT MANCHESTER,

WHO DIED A.D. 1653.

I HAVE SPENT MANY PROFITABLE HOURS IN THE

COMPANIONSHIP OF HIS BOOKS,

IN THE QUIET SECLUSION OF THE VENERABLE COLLEGE,

PRESERVED TO US AS A RELIC OF THE

LANCASTRIAN AGE,

PREFACE

THE materials for this volume have been put together during the broken intervals of a busy official life, often at a distance from original sources of information. They have taken more than twelve years to collect, and, if, after all, they shall seem trivial and unimportant, compared with the amount of time and labour which it has cost to gather them together, my apology for publishing them must be that the ground has not been thoroughly worked before. I do not pretend to enunciate a political principle or advocate a social theory; I merely attempt to decipher some facts from the life of the people of England in the dimness of a forgotten past.

My acknowledgments are due to the officials of the Public Record Office for much courtesy and help received from them in the Search Room in London, and I venture to express regret that so little attention has been yet directed to the Archives of the 15th century, especially since the publication of the valuable series of Original Letters, edited under the direction of the Master of the Rolls, by the Rev. F C. Hingeston, some twenty-four years ago.

Rochdale,
July 18th, 1884.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER.		PAGE.
I.	Introductory	1
II.	Dramatis Personæ	19
III.	The Coronation	39
IV.	The First Parliament	46
V.	Foreign Affairs	80
VI.	The Death of Richard	91
VII.	The Invasion of Scotland	119
VIII.	Wales	141
IX.	The Emperors of the East and West	156
X.	The Lollards	168
XI.	The Restoration of Isabella	191
XII.	Conway	212
XIII.	Ireland	219
XIV.	Insurrection in Wales	241
XV.	A Chapter of Marriages	251
XVI.	The Begging Friars	265
XVII.	"Revolted Mortimer"	281
XVIII.	The Battle of Humbledon	288
XIX.	The Scottish Prisoners	295
XX.	The King's Marriage	306
XXI.	Timur	312
XXII.	The French Challenges	322
XXIII.	The Annexation of Southern Scotland	337
XXIV	Owen in Caermarthen	341
XXV.	The Battle of Shrewsbury	349
XXVI.	The Submission of Earl Percy	366
XXVII.	South Wales	371
XXVIII.	The Pirate War	379
XXIX.	The War Treasurers	400
XXX.	The Commotion in Essex	417
XXXI.	Caernarvon, Harlech, and Dartmouth	429
XXXII.	The Franco-Welsh Alliance	439
XXXIII.	Inaction	456
XXXIV	The "Illiterate" Parliament	469

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ADDENDUM

CHAUCER (like GOWER) recognizes the three-fold claim of Henry to the throne, addressing him thus :—

> "O *conquerour* of Brutes Albyoun,
> Which that *by lygne* and free *electioun*,
> Ben verray Kynge."
> The Compleynte of CHAUCER to his Purse, 22.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

UNDER HENRY THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE history of the English nation under the Kings of the House of Lancaster has not yet, so far as I know, been fully treated by any modern enquirer. Like every portion of human history it is well deserving of minute examination, and is rich in dramatic interest. It is a time of transition in manners and learning, religion and government. It is, moreover, marked with strong and peculiar characteristics of its own, an accurate study of which may help to advance our knowledge of those periods immediately succeeding, which have long occupied so large a share of public attention.

Edward III. ruled England for fifty years. His reign had begun in rebellion and parricide, amidst vicious and corrupt advisers, but by skill and vigour in his government at home, and by brilliant successes abroad, he had outlived the memory of his first evil training, and had reigned unquestioned as the leader and the patriarch of his people. But he left to his young grandson and successor a fearful legacy. The army was exhausted, the nation impoverished; men's thoughts were just stirring under the rising breath of heresy, and a [1]strange

[1] Cf. the risings in Ghent, Languedoc, Florence, Paris, and Rouen, in 1381-2.

wave of democratic agitation was rolling over Europe, bearing crude and violent remedies against tyranny and misrule.

To these difficulties, which would have taxed the genius of a strong and wise prince, was added an element of danger more formidable than all the others combined. Years of plundering warfare in France and Spain had generated a spirit of restlessness and ambition amongst the great English nobles, and even before the death of Edward III. were heard the first threatenings of the coming storm.

In 1377, Richard of Bordeaux ("the Redeless," as he was nicknamed after his fall) was crowned King of England. He was at the time a boy, eleven years old, under the care of powerful and unprincipled uncles. As he grew, he developed much of the character of his Plantagenet fathers, but little of their sturdiness. [1]He was hasty and irresolute; his features were delicate, his figure handsome; his face often flushed, and his tongue stammered. With cultivated tastes he combined an excessive love of display; and in beauty of person, in luxury of furniture and equipage and dress, he seemed a [2]"second Absalom." [3]His temper was arbitrary and wilful, and though punctual in the observance of the forms of religion, he was penetrated with a spirit of faithlessness and revenge. His

[1] See the story of his hot ride from Daventry to Westminster to chastise the French—but he changed his mind in the night. (1383) WALS., ii, 103. [2] USK, 1. [3] Cf. his conduct at Flint and in the Tower: after long desponding silence and a passionate outburst of cursing, he challenged any four lords to fight, and kicked the Duke of Albemarle's cap across the room.—TRAIS., 216. Also the story of his thrashing the Earl of Arundel with his own hand, in Westminster Abbey, whilst the funeral service was proceeding for the Queen, just dead (1394).—ANN., 424. He sometimes spent whole nights in drinking and debauchery, in which he was joined by the Bishops of Carlisle and Worcester, and others.—EVESH., 169. Add his determination at Conway, when submitting to parley with Henry. "But in truth," said he to his friends, "whatever agreement or peace he (Henry) may make with me, if I can ever get him into my power I will cause him to be foully put to death." Immediately afterwards he heard the mass very devoutly, "car il estoit vray catholique."—TRAIS., 50.

inglorious reign is the record of petty family struggles, without unity of purpose or common design; of shifting rivalries of factions striving to govern him and the nation through him; no party solid enough to overawe the rest, but each breaking into new hatreds and mutual suspicions as their temporary objects seemed almost attained.

Through jealousies amongst his enemies and the subservience of a packed parliament, the King seemed at last, by the twentieth year of his reign, to have made himself absolute and independent of control. But he was only betrayed into a false security, and in the hour of his need he found himself without a friend. Thus, at the age of 33, in the opening vigour of manhood, with prospect of issue to succeed him, he abdicated the throne without a struggle, and was forced to remain a helpless prisoner for the rest of his short life.

Richard had been married from his sixteenth year. His wife, Anne, (daughter of the Emperor Charles IV. and sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia) had died in 1394, leaving him a childless widower at the age of 28. But a marriage of convenience was soon arranged for him, and in 1396 he had been wedded to Isabella, eldest daughter of his neighbour Charles VI., King of France. She was at the time a girl of eight years old, but she was formally crowned at Westminster as Queen of England, and lived with the King as his wife. Having yet no son, Richard had declared his heir apparent to be Roger, Earl of March, the young grandson (by his mother's side) of the Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. But [1]in the summer of 1398, the

[1] He was killed in a skirmish against the O'Briens and O'Tooles, in Leinster, on St. Margaret's Day, July 20th, 1398. — See DEP. KEEP. 36th REP., pp. 213, 223. For an account of him see USK, 18. Adam of Usk was a protégé of Edmund Mortimer, father of Roger. He connects the family with the royal houses of England, Scotland, France, Spain, Italy, and Troy; and with the princes of Wales through Gwladus the Dark and Iorwerth the Broken-nosed.

Earl of March had been killed in Ireland, leaving two infant sons, [1]Edmund and Roger, to succeed to his title and pretensions should the Queen have no male issue. While the succession was thus precarious, all doubt was for the moment cleared away by the rebellious return to England of Henry, [2]Duke of Lancaster, who, with the consent of the nation and the parliament, deposed the King and usurped the throne.

Henry Plantagenet (called afterwards Henry of Bolingbroke, from his birthplace in Lincolnshire) was the oldest surviving son of John of Ghent, fourth son of Edward III. and Blanche, only child of the Duke of Lancaster, a direct descendant by a younger branch from King Henry III. He was the youngest child of John of Ghent by this marriage. His three brothers had died young, and his mother died before he was three years old. He was thus King Richard's cousin. He was also his equal in [3]age and in nobility of birth. During their boyhood there had been bitterness and jealousy between their fathers, Edward the Black Prince and John of Ghent; and, at the time of Richard's father's death, the father of Henry had given open evidence of his ambition to dispossess his brother's line in favour of himself or his son. But after the full recognition of Richard as King these jealousies were forgotten, and the friendship of the lads must have been cemented when they were exposed to a common danger from the rioters on Tower Hill (1381). In 1386, Henry was made Earl of Derby, and when still a very young man, had taken a prominent and independent part in the events of that eventful year, siding with his uncles,

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., i, 28, dated November 30th, 1400, grants 300 marks per ann. to Edmund, Earl of March and Roger, his brother. [2] Besides being Duke of Lancaster and Hereford, he was Earl of Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, and Northampton.—RYM., viii, 90. [3] Both were born in 1367, Richard in January, and Henry on April 3rd.—NOTES AND QUERIES, 4th Series, 11, 162. Both were married young, and both lost their wives in the same year, 1394.

the Dukes of York and Gloucester, in procuring the Commission of Fourteen, which for a time virtually deposed the King and governed the country in his name. But it was soon evident that there was no unity of purpose amongst the Commissioners, and Henry, who was too young to be actually one of the members, was among the first to show his independence. In less than a year he had quarrelled openly with the Duke of Gloucester, and was working actively to overthrow him. Thus he was ready to take a high place in the confidence of the King on the fall of Gloucester in 1389, and his name appeared as one of the powerful lords who approved of the Duke's subsequent arrest and imprisonment eight years afterwards.

In 1386, Henry had married Mary, daughter of Humphrey de Bohun, formerly Count of Hereford, [1]"the richest heiress in England, except her sister, who was married to Henry's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester." She died at the age of 28 in 1394, leaving four sons and two daughters. This part of Henry's life was a time of roving restlessness and adventure. In 1390, Henry and Richard were both present at a grand joust of arms in the plain of St. Ingelbert, near Calais. [2]Henry greatly distinguished himself by his bodily strength and skill, but an eye-witness, the [3]Marquis de Saluzzo, reports that very little account was taken of Richard. In the same year, [4]attended by three hundred English knights, he accompanied the Duke of Bourbon, at the call of the Doge of Genoa, in his expedition to Barbary, and was present at the taking of Tunis, "the only service which the Englishemen and Frenchmen performed together without jotte of jarre."[5] He joined expeditions with the Teutonic knights on the shores of the Baltic and the Gulf of Danzig. [6]In the winter of 1392 he left Venice for Jerusalem

[1] STRICKLAND, i, 467. [2] BOUCICAUT, I, xvii. [3] Extract from Chevalier Errant in TRAIS., p. xliv. [4] VEN. STATE PAPERS, I, lxxxi. [5] HAYWARD, 31. [6] VEN. STATE PAPERS, I, lxxxii.

in a galley specially equipped for him on the recommendation of the Duke of Austria. He had long wished to visit the Holy Sepulchre in person, and [1]still retained the wish long afterwards when King of England, but he failed to carry out his purpose, and returned to Venice disappointed in the spring of 1393. In September, 1396, he was present [2]in command of 1000 English lances at the battle of Nicopolis, and after the disaster [3]he escaped from the fury of the Turks with Sigismund, King of Hungary, on board a Venetian galley on the Danube. [4]He was afterwards urged to join an expedition against Friesland by the Count of Oostervant (1396), and to accompany the French force, which followed Marshal Boucicaut to the aid of the Emperor of Constantinople; but from both he was dissuaded, and returned to England to lend his aid to that revolution which destroyed the Duke of Gloucester, and, for the moment, freed Richard from all effective control.

Immediately after this revolution, Henry was created Duke of Hereford (September 29th, 1397). Up to this time he had given no evidence of any wish to drive his cousin from the throne. He was, it is true, capable of becoming a formidable enemy, [5]rich, active, and unscrupulous; but the part which he was soon to play seems rather to have been the result of events than of any deliberate design. In September, 1398, he brought an accusation against the Duke of Norfolk, a favourite with Richard and lately a confederate with himself in the conspiracy against the Duke of Gloucester. The

[1] ROY. LET., 421; ORIG. LET., III., i, 54. [2] DUCAS, ch. xiii. [3] VEN. STATE PAPERS, I, lxxxv. [4] TRAIS., xliv, quoting BARANTE, DUCS DE BOURGOYNE, ii, 358. [5] The list of castles belonging to his family includes: Knaresborough, Pickering, Pontefract, Lydel, Dunstanborough (Northumberland), Cykhull (Durham), Bolingbroke, Lancaster, Leicester, Kenilworth, Tutbury, Hertford, Pevensey, Monmouth, Skenfrith, Blanchcastle, Grossmont, Oken, Oggermore, Caerkennyn, Kidwelly.—ARCHÆOL, xx, 62.

political significance of this quarrel is difficult to unravel, but in the result [1]both Dukes were banished by a kind of double ostracism, though the spirit and the letter of the sentence fell far more lightly on Henry. On October 13th, 1398, he left England and withdrew to Paris. [2]£2000 annually was allowed to him "of the King's gift" and £500 per annum to his eldest son, Henry. Early in the following year, while Henry was in Paris, his father died (February 3rd, 1399), and, in spite of law and of special promise, his vast estates were declared forfeit to the King. This may not in itself be a sufficient cause to justify rebellion and the course of violence upon which Henry now entered, but it supplied at least an occasion for return; and when in the following [3]summer he landed in Yorkshire, he would find many to believe that he was quite sincere in his declaration that he came with arms in his hands, merely to demand the restoration of his family estates, without any fixed intention of putting himself at the head of a party, and allowing himself to be made King. Once in full tide, the rebellion hurried on. The King had been absent in Ireland since May. The heir-apparent was dead. The nation was over-taxed and discontented. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland admitted Henry to the north. The Castles of Pickering, Knaresborough, and Pontefract opened their gates to him. The city of London invited him. No resistance was offered. Richard was betrayed, entrapped, and deserted by his friends; and on September 29th, 1399, being at the time a prisoner in the Tower of London, he was induced to read and subscribe in the presence of a select deputation of witnesses a formal

[1] The Duke of Norfolk died on his way from Jerusalem, and was buried at Venice (September, 1399), where a stone monument was erected to his memory.—VEN. STATE PAPERS, I, lxxxiii. [2] TYLER, i, 35, quoting Pell Records. [3] The date is variously given:—"about June 24th," EVESH., 151; June 28th, USK, 24; July 4th, OTTERBOURNE, 203; July 22nd, MS. BODL. DODSWORTH, 116, fol. 148 in TRAIS., App. D, p. 286.

renunciation of his claims to be King. By this [1]document, with his hand on the gospels, he absolved all his subjects, civil and ecclesiastical, from homage and service; renounced the crown and government of his kingdom and dominions, purely, freely, simply, and absolutely; and declared that he was, and had been, insufficient and useless, and that he ought justly to be deposed. Finally, he declared that he would never hereafter withdraw or impugn this declaration, but that he would for ever maintain it in whole and in part. This last clause was of special significance, for this was not the first time that Richard had submitted to humble himself and his office before his rebellious subjects, and there is no doubt that he would have disavowed it on the first opportunity. But, for the present, he was entirely in the hands of a faction unusually compact and strong. Times could not be worse with him, and, by waiting, he might live to see his enemies divided again. So of his own accord he read and signed the declaration "with a smiling face." The account of the interview is given with unusual detail. The witnesses comprised an archbishop, a bishop, a prior, an abbot, two judges, two doctors-of-law, two public notaries, two lords, two earls, and two knights. These met in the council chamber, and proceeded to the Tower, where they had an interview with Richard about nine o'clock in the morning. The King received them graciously, but requested to see also the Duke of Lancaster (Henry) and the Archbishop of Canterbury (Arundel), and then in the presence of them all he signed the document.

On the following day [2](Wednesday, September 30th, 1399), the Parliament met in the great hall at Westminster. It had been [3]summoned in Richard's name, and had assembled in haste.

[1] It was drawn up on parchment, in quâdam cedulâ pergameni redactam (ROT. PARL., iii, 416, OTTERBOURNE, 212,) and was seen and consulted by the St. Alban's Chronicler. [2] FROIS., iv, 669. [3] CAPGRAVE, 272.

The lords spiritual and temporal occupied their places, and a large crowd of the representatives of counties and boroughs filled the hall. There was no president. The throne stood empty dressed in cloth of gold. The Archbishop of York (Richard Scrope), whose cousin had just been executed by the mob as one of Richard's evil advisers, read the King's renunciation, in Latin and in English. The question was put whether it was expedient for the parliament and the kingdom that such renunciation should be accepted, and [1]each and all, separately and by acclamation, made answer that it was. It was then proposed, for the removal of all scruple and doubt, to read publicly the list of charges against the fallen King.

The articles of accusation were 32 in number. In spite of some verbiage and apparently needless repetition, they are drawn up with clearness and method. They exhibit the views of the dominant party alone, and probably put the case against the King in its blackest form. Many of them refer to personal grievances committed against particular individuals of the party now about to secure power; others have a more general application. A short notice of these articles of accusation will be useful from a two-fold point of view. They show the state of political parties at the time of Henry the Fourth's accession, thus forming a convenient introduction to the new period just opening; and, by specifying the points in which King Richard is accused of breaking the law, they form a kind of manifesto or public declaration on the part of the coming King, that all who in future shall so transgress, will be justly liable to a similar punishment. Though they are called articles of accusation, it should be borne in mind that there was no formal trial, accu-

[1] "Which no man then repugned."—HARDYNG, 351; LINGARD, iii, 186. For the worthlessness of unanimous parliaments, cf. the proceedings in 1387, where all had specially sworn that no statute then enacted should be repealed, with those of 1397, which repealed them wholesale.

sation, or defence. The case was regarded as closed by the King's voluntary resignation, and these articles were set forward gratuitously by the party of the Duke of Lancaster. So far as they concern the immediate disputes and quarrels of Richard the Second's reign, we may pass them over. The King may have been answerable for all that these articles urge against him. The times were out of joint, and law had been pushed aside by violence. Nevertheless, it is more than probable that, if Richard had lived longer, he would have seen himself plausibly and even triumphantly defended against every charge by some, at least, of the very men who now accused him. It is more profitable to look at those articles in which Richard is accused of violating laws, customs, and statutes which, at his coronation, he had sworn to defend and observe. Henry's claim to the throne was based on the unfitness of Richard. [1]This alone, in the eyes of the parliament and the nation, was deemed sufficient to wash the balm off from their anointed King. The modern doctrine of right divine was never urged. Richard himself absolved his subjects from their homage and allegiance. He had broken his coronation oath, and the contract between himself and his subjects was thereby dissolved. He might, conceivably, have pleaded ignorance; but, by this public statement, a clear interpretation was put by parliament upon the meaning of the coronation oath for the future, and whoever next should reign, would see his duty distinctly defined by this

[1] The question had been judicially examined by certain doctors, bishops, and others—Adam of Usk being among the number, (USK, 141). Annals and records had been previously carefully searched for precedents from the time of William the Conqueror downwards, and the deposition of the King was resolved on, "in accordance with the ancient custom of the realm in such cases."—WALS., 278; see also OTTERB., 209. Creton, a Frenchman, strongly convinced of Henry's treachery, in a poem, written in France, for the express purpose of exciting sympathy for Richard and hostility to Henry, blames him for usurping the throne, "fanlcement sans mander deffiance," *i.e.* for a breach of feudal etiquette.—ARCHÆOL, xx, 379.

new confirmation of charters, and stand doubly convicted, if he, in his turn, should trample on the recognized liberties of the nation.

The following are the principles of law asserted to have been violated by King Richard :—

ART. 5 asserts that a body-guard of Richard's troops, while passing from place to place, had killed or beaten the King's subjects, and taken their goods without payment. This was a violation of several statutes of Edward III., [1]which secured an immediate money compensation, according to the decision of local jurors, on account of all articles required for the purveyance or victualling of those in attendance upon the King.

ART. 8 accuses Richard of conducting the government by the advice and assistance of a committee of parliament, consisting of 18 persons (12 peers and 6 commoners) devoted to his interest, thereby [2]dispensing with the help of parliament, and lowering its dignity and authority.

ART. 10 accuses Richard of applying to the Pope to excommunicate all who should subvert the statutes passed in the parliament of 1397. Such foreign interference is declared to be against the crown and the royal dignity, and against the statutes and liberties of the realm.

ART. 13 accuses the King of appointing his own relations and dependents to be Lieutenants and Sheriffs of Counties, though statutes required that these officers should be elected in the counties.

ART. 18 asserts that he had [3]retained these Sheriffs for two or

[1] LING., iii, 104: CONC., iii, 245. [2] Cf. STATUTES, 4 Edw. III. (1330); 36 Edw. III. (1362); 1 Rd. II. (1377); That parliament shall meet at least once every year. Cf. MAY, 32. [3] Et hoc est notorium publicum et famosum. It probably remained the common practice afterwards. —See lists of sheriffs in Chester and Flint for instances of six years in succession, in DEP. KEEP. 21st REP., App. 3; for other counties, see 31st REP., App. 4.

three years in office, though statutes declared it to be illegal for a Sheriff to hold office longer than a year, or to be re-elected before three years had elapsed from the time of his resignation. The intention seems to have been that an early opportunity might be given to any aggrieved person to sue the Sheriff in the civil courts, as soon as he resigned his office.

ART. 19.—That by means of these Sheriffs he had secured the return to parliament of those Knights of the Shire only who were pledged to his interest, thereby preserving for himself the grant of the wool-tax for life, and other oppressive enactments. This is declared to be contrary to statute and to the custom of the realm, whereby it is claimed that [1]in the calling of a parliament, the people in each county ought to be free in choosing and deputing Knights for the Shires to be present in parliament, to set forward their complaints and to press for remedies.

ART. 20.—That, in addition to the ancient form of oath, the King had required the Sheriffs of Counties to swear to be obedient to his letters under the great or privy seal, requiring them to arrest, and detain in prison during the King's pleasure, all bailiffs, of whatever rank, who were known to have spoken, secretly or publicly, anything which might turn to the dishonour or shame of the King's person. It is remarkable that this oppressive and tyrannical power is not declared to be contrary to any statute, and that it is complained of, not as having been actually abused, but as one "which, probably, might lead to the destruction of some of the King's subjects."

ART. 26.—That accused persons had been imprisoned, and brought before military courts, where no defence was allowed them, except a total denial of the charge and an offer to submit to the wager of battle. This is declared to be contrary to the

[1] 38 H. III., (1254). See MAY, p. 17.

Great Charter of John, which provides that no man shall be taken, or put to death, except by a legal decision of his peers, or by the law of the land. The injustice of the wager of battle consisted mainly in the fact that the accused might be aged and infirm, while the appellants were young and strong—the worst form of abuse of the maxim that might is right.

ART. 28.—The King is charged with granting, in his own name, "prohibitions" to interfere with the action of the spiritual courts, though the Chancellor had previously refused them. The limits of the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts in England had been very ill-defined. It had become, however, the practice of the lay judges to issue orders requiring that certain cases should be tried in civil courts, and not in the courts spiritual. Such orders were termed "prohibitions," and the right to issue them seems not to have been disputed. The article charges the King with issuing them, *in his own name*, although the Chancellor, after due consideration, had declined to interfere.

Such are the chief infractions of the law with which Richard is charged. The remaining articles refer to his perfidy, extravagance, and notorious faithlessness. In one of them he is accused of having said that he could make and alter the laws of his own accord, and dispose of his subjects' property according to his own pleasure. Several articles refer to the attempt he had made to free himself from the control of the Duke of Gloucester's commission, in the 11th year of his reign (1387), and the subsequent events of the 21st year (1397-8), in which the proceedings of Gloucester's commission were solemnly annulled by parliament, the Duke himself was murdered in prison, the Earl of Arundel impeached and executed, and several of their leading accomplices exiled. Only it almost passes belief that these events should be charged against Richard now

by the very faction which had sanctioned and approved them, Henry of Bolingbroke himself being amongst the foremost of his then supporters.

These articles were read in Latin and in English. The representatives of the different estates were asked, separately and jointly, whether these crimes called for the deposition of the King, and when their consent was obtained, eight commissioners were at once appointed to draw up and pronounce the sentence of deposition. These [1]immediately formed themselves into a tribunal, sitting in front of the empty throne, and pronounced sentence of deposition in the name of the parliament, absolving all Richard's subjects from their allegiance, and forbidding them to render obedience to him in the future.

So ended the reign of Richard. He had allowed himself to become the tool of factions and dishonourable intrigues, and now he had himself fallen into the snare. He had taught the evil lesson of misgoverning under the appearance of law, and, with the sanction of packed parliaments, and now, by a packed parliament, and with a semblance of law, his office was to be taken away. He had been faithless to his pledged word, and now, he himself was faithlessly betrayed. He had imprisoned without trial, and put to death without mercy his own kinsmen who stood in his way; now, by his own kinsmen, he was himself illegally imprisoned and soon to be mercilessly put to death.

The throne was thus vacant. But immediately Henry [2]rose up erect from his place. He was sitting in the seat of his father, the Duke of Lancaster, and on either side of him sat

[1] They assert that they acted "deliberatione diligenti;" but the whole process was carried through with the utmost haste, "car ils avoient tous envie de le deffaire assez briefment."—ARCHÆOL., XX, 383. [2] All were required to stand while speaking, except the King.—MOD. TEN. PARL., 33.

the [1] Duke of York and the [2] Bishop of Carlisle. He made the sign of the cross on his forehead and on his breast, that all might see, and spoke in English, that all might understand:— [3] "In the name of God, I, Henry of Lancastre, challenge this reiaume, this the corone, with alle the membris and appurtenaunce therto, [4]save the ryght blood comyng of the Kyng Henry, and thorghe that ryght that Gode of hys grace hath sent me, with the help of my kyn and of my frendes to recovere it; the whiche roiaume was in poynt to ben undon for defaute of governaunce and undoyng of the lawes." Then the lords spiritual and temporal, with the several estates present, were asked, singly and collectively, what they thought of the claim, who answered, without difficulty or delay, that Henry should be their King. Then Henry showed the signet ring that had been given up the previous day by Richard in the Tower, and the [4]outlaw Archbishop of Canterbury led the outlaw Duke of Lancaster by the right hand, and placed him on the throne; the people shouting for excess of joy. When silence was at length procured, the Archbishop, in a short harangue, preached of the story of the choice of Saul, how Jehovah had said, through the mouth of His prophet, [5]"This man shall reign over my people." An ominous text, and not very full of comfort, had any present cared to understand it in its original connection. The Archbishop, however, judiciously pointed the moral other-

[1] ARCHÆOL., xx, 192. [2] EULOG., iii, 382. [3] Verbatim from ANN., 281. [4] Others have "as be the right blod." He clearly means that his father and mother were both direct descendants from Henry III. ROT. PARL., iii, 423, gives "als I yt am discendit be ryght lyne of the blode comyng fro the gude lorde Kyng Henry therde." CAP. 273: "as for descensus of the real blod of Kyng Henry." The Earl of Northumberland afterwards said that on St. Matthew's Day (September 21st) Henry sent for all chronicles from the principal monasteries, and had them examined to see whether his claim from Henry III. could be substantiated, but failed. —HARDYNG, 353. Cf. POL. VERG., xxi, 439; HALLE, 10; HOL., ii. 511. [4] The indictment against Archbishop Arundel was not formally quashed until October 29, 1399.—See PAT., 1 Henry IV., pt. i, m. 8. [5] 1 SAM., ix, 17.

wise. [1] He who was about to reign should be a *man*, not a child—thinking, speaking, and understanding as a *man*.

Then Henry rose, and spoke from the throne these words:— [2] "Syres, I thank yow espirituelx and temporelx, and alle the estates of the lond, and I do yow to wyte that it ys nought my wil that no man think that by wey of conquest y wolde desherte any man of hys heritage, fraunchis, or other ryghtes that hem ought to have, ne put hym out of that he hath and hath had in the gode lawes of this reiaume except hem that han ben ageyn the gode purpos and the commune profyte of the reiaulme."

It is to be noticed that Henry had throughout the whole of his rebellion, striven to keep himself within the law. He searched records and consulted jurists. [3] His title to succeed Richard by right of birth was barred by the boy, Edmund Mortimer (now six years old), son of Roger, Earl of March, a descendant of Edward III., from an older branch than his, and he saw no other way open than to claim by right of conquest. But from this he was dissuaded by Justice Thernyng, who represented that he would thereby raise a needless alarm, and disturb the security of property. Hence was devised the singular formula quoted above, in which a curious compromise appears to be made between [4] two contradictory grounds of

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 423; OTT., 220. As reported by CRETON, the sermon was abont Jacob, the younger son, securing the blessing from his father. [2] ANN., 282. [3] Yet EULOG. (iii, 384) makes him claim as the next male heir—proximus masculus de sanguine suo. HARDYNG pretends that there was a free election, the young Earl of March being passed over because of his youth, though the nearest heir male; but this is probably an afterthought, intended to bear out the claim of Edward IV. and the Yorkists, as descended from the Mortimers.—See Pref. to HARDYNG. POL. VERG. represents Roger as still alive; but this is a mistake, he was killed in Ireland the previous summer. [4] FROIS. (iv, 669) says that he claimed on three grounds, viz.: conquest, right of birth, and the resignation of Richard.—See the three reasons set out by Gower, in his doggerel Chronicle:—

Regnum *conquestat* que per hoc sibi jns manifestat;
Regno *succedit* hœres nec abinde recedit;
Insnper *eligitur* a plebeqne sic stabilitur.—POL. SONGS, i., 449.

claim. Henry has been sent, by God's grace, to recover a birthright, which no one had ever dreamed that he or his fathers had ever possessed. The wonder is that such transparent flimsiness should have satisfied any reasoning man; but it must have been sufficient to the mind of the Chief Justice of Common Pleas, or he would not have given his sanction to the proceedings of that day.

Henry's first speech from the throne was meant to reassure those who might be yet uncertain of his intentions, now that they had placed power in his hands; but he speaks as one who has conquered his crown, not as bound under a mutual contract with those who had bestowed it on him, and his gracious assurance contains an ominous proviso which might be interpreted consistently with absolute despotism.

[1] Immediately, by Henry's order, it was publicly proclaimed that a new parliament should meet on the following Monday, (October 6th) and October 13th was fixed for the coronation day. It was explained that this [2]short notice in summoning parliament was unavoidable and should not be made into a precedent, but that it was necessary in order to avoid expense and delay.

Accordingly, on Monday, October 6th (St. Faith's), the first parliament of Henry IV met at Westminster. The King himself presided, and with him were his two elder sons, Henry and Thomas. The former, a lad of twelve years of age, occupied the chief place among the temporal peers, while the latter carried the wand of his new office as Seneschal or Steward of England. The Archbishop of Canterbury spoke in the name of the King, excusing the haste with which the parliament had been summoned and declaring that it was the King's intention

[1] He at once assumed the title of King.—See PAT., 1 H. IV., iii, 24, dated September 29th, 1399, in which he grants to Thernyng one cask of wine. [2] Forty days were usually allowed.—MOD. TEN. PARL., 3.

to govern according to right and the law, that no favour should be shown to rank or degree, but that all should be governed with equal justice; that the Church should enjoy all her liberties, and that the lords spiritual and temporal, and the cities and boroughs should retain all franchises and privileges granted by his predecessors; that the King was determined to govern not by his own will, but by the common advice and consent of the honourable and sage and discreet persons of his realm; but that, inasmuch as it was the King's wish that nothing should be begun till after he had received the full sanction and blessing of the coronation oil, he wished them to consent to adjourn their meetings till the 14th October. In the meantime, the knights of parliament were to choose for themselves a Speaker, certain lords would be appointed to examine and decide upon petitions, or, if necessary, submit them to the parliament. The houses gave their consent. Twenty-three lords and others were appointed Triers of Petitions from home and abroad, and the parliament was adjourned till after the coronation.

CHAPTER II.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

GREAT were the expectations awakened by the return of Henry from banishment. The doggerel poets jested over the fall of Richard's councillors, and sighed for a ruler who should bring peace to the country and [1]heal the divisions in the church. They derided the extravagance and licentiousness of the court; and welcomed the invader, as the [2]eagle, the true mother of the brood, which had long been nursed by a false mother, but waited only to hear the voice of the true to flock to her. Henry is the [3]"boar of commerce," returning to call back the herd to their lost pasturage. He is urged to purge the court of the [4]proud, penniless adventurers, with their painted sleeves; to reprove the robbers and riflers of the people, the [5]flatterers and false men who use no faith, and all the devilish doers; to choose out knights who know themselves well, who have suffered and travelled and tempered themselves; and they point specially to Thomas Fitz-Alan, son of the late Earl of Arundel, and to the Earl of Warwick, as the regenerators who had suffered most from the oppression of the last years of Richard.

[1] POL. SONGS, i, 400; ii, 15. [2] "Pullus aquilæ."—USK, 133, *i.e.* the son of John (cf. the symbol of the Evangelist). [3] OTT., 210. [4] "til no proude peniles with his peynte sleve." [5] ARCHÆOL., XX, 101. See also the passage in HARDYNG, 346-7. He had his account from Robert Ireclife, "clerk of the green cloth."

> Greate lechery and fornicacion
> Was in that house * and also greate aduoutree
> Of paramoures was greate consolacion
> Of eche degre wel more of prelacie
> Then of the temporall or of the chiualrie.
>
> * *i.e.* Richard's court.

When Henry had landed in Yorkshire with three small vessels hired from Brittany, he was accompanied by a [1]handful of followers, most of them of no great weight or influence. Amongst them was Thomas of Arundel, who had been Archbishop of Canterbury, but had been banished the country by King Richard two years before, at the time when his brother, the Earl of Arundel, had been appealed of treason, and executed for complicity in the intrigues of the Duke of Gloucester. He had spent these two years partly at Rome, [2](where he had secured the personal friendship of Pope Boniface IX.) partly at Florence, Cologne, Utrecht, and other cities. In spite of express efforts to prevent their correspondence, he had at last joined Henry in Paris, and had instigated his plans for returning to England. In his absence he had been deprived, and his office taken by Roger of Walden, [3]Dean of York, [4]a married man and an ex-soldier, the [5]son of a butcher in Essex. Roger is called a "modest, pious, and affable man, more versed in war and in the world than in learning or the church," but his low birth and [6]lay training are an offence in the eyes of monkish writers, and his deprivation was regarded by the friends of Arundel with huge delight. Arundel had been by a fiction translated to the see of St. Andreas in Dordogne, [7]but he now claimed that this translation was not valid, as he had not given his consent, and it was suspected that there was an understanding with the Pope that Walden should be treated as an usurper, in case Arundel should ever become reinstated in the king's favour. Immediately on landing he had assumed his old title, and by the end of September, 1399, his [8]influence

[1] Variously stated: *e.g.*, "ten or twelve," OTT., 202; "forty men," HARDYNG, 349; "sixty," EVESH., 151; "scarce 300," USK, 134. [2] HARPSFELD, 616. [3] CONC., iii, 246. [4] TRAIS., 227. [5] USK, 38. [6] "Quendam laicum literatum."—EULOG., iii, 377. [7] HOOK, iv, 451. Boniface in restoring Arundel complained that he had been deceived by the misstatements of Walden.—ANN., 321. [8] Quem sequi videbatur velut ex integro totus mundus.—ANN., 287.

and genius were all-powerful, and none could stand against his authority. Henry was deeply pledged to him. He had shared his danger in exile and had placed him on the throne at Westminster. He was now in the prime of life—[1]46 years old—having filled either the see of a bishop or an archbishop since he was quite a youth. Walden made no resistance but retired without a struggle. [2]He was at first charged with treason, and everything was taken from him, but he was acquitted, his private property was restored (February 18th, 1400), and on [3]July 12th he received a grant of two casks of wine annually. A few years later (1404) he was made Bishop of London on the first vacancy, the archbishop himself recommending his appointment.

Another member of the small landing party was Thomas Fitz-Alan, son of the late Earl of Arundel. After his father's death he was kept in the custody of the Duke of Exeter, [4]"but alwey in gret repref and dispite in moche disese and sorwe of herte" in the Castle of [5]Ryegate. His estates had been confiscated. Lands in [6]Sussex, yielding £400 per annum, had been granted or sold to the Abbey of Fécamp, while his [7]property on the border of Wales had been annexed to the new Principality of Chester. Through the help of William Scot, a mercer of London, he had escaped from Ryegate, disguised as a groom, and had crossed to France. [8]He now returned to find his father treated by the parliament as a murdered martyr, and himself the chosen of the people. Estates which he claimed had been granted away and long enjoyed by his father's accusers, amongst them the [9]Duke of Albemarle and the Earl of Gloucester, both of whom had just rendered signal service

[1] ARCHÆOL., xx, 47. He was Bishop of Ely when 22 years old. [2] TRAIS., 75. PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 37. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 20. [4] CHRON. LOND., 83. [5] CHRON., (R. II.-H. VI.) 15. [6] PIPE ROLL, 1 H. IV., co. Sussex. [7] ROT. PARL., iii, 435. [8] USK, 14. [9] ROT. PARL., iii, 354. In Chester, Salop, and Flint.

to Henry by abandoning King Richard and his falling fortunes. Moreover, the Duke of Exeter, his late gaoler, was married to Henry's sister, and had betrayed King Richard; so that no restitution could be attempted without offending powerful friends, on whose support the new king was for the present bound to rely.

The Earl of Warwick (Thomas Beauchamp) had been banished by King Richard to the Isle of Man, and his large estates had been portioned out to others. Some had fallen to the Earl of Wiltshire, others to the Earls of Worcester and Gloucester, while a substantial share, together with the custody of the young heir [1](Richard Beauchamp), had passed to King Richard's half-brother, the Earl of Kent, now Duke of Surrey.

These are not isolated instances, and they show the kind of difficulty which Henry would have to face in governing his new-found brood. Enmities and factions had been inextricably intermixed during the past reign, and there were none of those who now unanimously supported Henry, who had not in some of the various crises of the previous reign, ranged themselves in opposite camps and plundered each other royally.

The chief military power was then in the hands of the Constable of England. This officer was ex-officio a member of the King's court, held a high command under the King, arranged the army, and enquired whether the military tenants sent their proper quota of men. [2]For this purpose he was empowered

[1] Born January 28th, 1381. See his life by John Rous (or Ross) in COTT. JUL. E., 4, 201. Cf. STRUTT, ii, 121. His castle and county of Worcester had been confiscated to be the property of the king for ever. ROT. PARL., iii, 354. [2] "He ought to have cognisance of contracts touching feats of arms and of war out of the realm, and also of such things relating to arms or war within the realm as could not be discussed by common law."—MADOX, 29, quoting STAT. 13, R. II., "Thus in the court of honour or chivalry the Lord High Constable and Earl Marshal, who are the judges thereof, are to proceed according to the civil law, as being the most proper law for deciding all controversies arising upon contracts made in foreign countries, deeds of arms and of

to hold a special court. The limits of its jurisdiction were vaguely defined by the Charter of John, but by gradual encroachments it had become an instrument of oppression, and the injustice perpetrated by means of the summary process of the Constable's court forms one of the grounds of accusation against King Richard. The Constable was of course a subject appointed during the King's pleasure, and bound to attend on the King's person, but he was by his office the most powerful of the King's subjects; and in strong hands, under a weak ruler, the office had not unfrequently been made the medium of successful rebellion. It had been held by the Duke of Gloucester up to the time of his death in September, 1397, and afterwards by the Duke of Albemarle. [1] It was now bestowed for life, as the first official act of Henry's reign, upon Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

The family of Percy had great influence and immense possessions in the north of England. To the lands and manors in Yorkshire which had been first bestowed on them by the Conqueror, they had added others by intermarriage with wealthy families in the far north, where they were quite removed from the influence of the central life of England. On the south, they were cut off by the [2] County Palatine of Durham, which sent no representatives to the parliament at Westminster, but was governed by its own Prince Bishop, who exercised royal rights and jurisdiction, held his own courts, appointed his own judges, and might assert an actual independence when the central government was weak and distracted. On the north, their possessions were bounded

war out of the realm, and things that pertain to war within the realm, &c."—BURN, Pref. v.

[1] FROIS., iv, 670. [2] For history of Palatinate of Durham see DEP. KEEP. 16th REP., App. 4. Also 30th REP., p. ix,: and 33rd REP., App. 2, p. 43., for calendar of the roll of Bishop Walter Skirlawe (3rd April, 1388—24th March, 1405).

by the arbitrary and unsettled line formed by the Tweed and the Cheviot Hills; while the mountains on the south and west marked a strict barrier between them and the County Palatine of Lancaster. Thus isolated and protected, they had preserved, more than any other Norman house, both the spirit and the letter of feudalism, exaggerating both its weakness and its strength; and while the feudal tie grew slacker in the south, the Lord Percy in Northumberland kept his patriarchal influence unbroken. His lands and honours were still compact and unimpaired. No rival claimed in them by taint or confiscation. In his own county his will was supreme, his name a thing to conjure with. He lived apart from English life, keeping court at Bamborough, Warkworth, Newcastle, and Berwick; a border robber holding his lands by his sword; rough and unlettered himself, he loved the flatteries of his own [1]bards and rhymers; without control, a slave to family feuds, a bitter hater or a steady friend, generous and faithless, merciless and brave, a loyal Englishman, not from love to England, but from hatred to the Scot.

Henry Percy was the first of his house whose ambition had extended beyond the petty feuds and border raids which had been the glory of his fathers. He had been created Earl of Northumberland by Edward III., and through the influence of John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, had been made Earl Marshal of England in 1377, and with the Duke attended the trial of Wyclif in London. At this time he had made himself so unpopular with the citizens of London as a supporter of the Lollards, that, when the mob demolished the Marshalsea, he narrowly escaped assassination. But in the course of the next few years he had quarrelled with the Duke of Lancaster, resigned the marshalship, and was occupied in his own county defending

[1] For the custom of keeping court poets or versifiers see ISSUE ROLL EXCHEQUER, 44 Ed. III., p. xxix.

the borders against the Scots, who were now acting probably at the instigation of his enemy the Duke. This feud between the two most powerful barons of the north was carried on with great violence and bitterness. The young King was powerless and the [1]country panic-stricken by organized and ferocious mobs. The Duke accused the Earl before the King. The Earl appeared with armed attendants, [2]defied and bullied the council into an acquittal. London was agitated and dreadful fears were entertained. This time the Earl was the popular man with the citizens. By a well-timed and prudent stroke of policy his interest was secured and his dangerous energies were diverted into a useful channel. He was made governor of Calais, and afterwards, on his recall from that fortress, he was [3]appointed Warden of the Northern Marches, in 1391, to repel the incursions of the Scots. In 1398, [4]he was summoned from the north before Richard, on account of some treasonable language reported to have been used by his eldest son Henry, but he refused to make his appearance, and for this he was sentenced to banishment. It was while he was preparing to retire into Scotland, where he had estates, that Richard crossed over into Ireland. Instead of going into banishment the Earl boldly joined Henry in Yorkshire, and for this invaluable service he was [5]appointed Constable of England by the son of the man who had been his bitterest enemy. Time and opportunity were alone wanted to develop the natural and necessary result. [6]The Isle of Man, which had been forfeited to the crown on the death of the Earl of Wiltshire, was granted to him and to his heirs. [7]He was entrusted with lands and domains in Wales

[1] Quisque sibi exosum decapitabat, si diciorem spoliabat.—Usk, 2. [2] Impatiens, *more gentis suæ*, contra prohibitionem regiam.—Wals., ii, 44. [3] With power to grant knighthood.—State Papers, iv, 629, in Introdn. to Hist. of Orders of Brit. Knighthood. Nicholas, vol. 5, p. xii. [4] Archæol., xx, 157. [5] September 30th, 1399.—Pat., 1 H. IV., i, 15. [6] Rym., viii, 91. Pat., 1 H. IV., 5, 35, October 19, 1399. [7] He paid £128 for the farm on May 20th, 1400.—Receipt Roll, 1 H. IV.

and on the border, lately belonging to Roger Earl of March; and on August 2nd he had received the castle of Carlisle and the charge of the West March for ten years, [1]with £1500 per annum—his eldest son Henry having henceforward the charge of the East March, with the castles of [2]Bamborough, Roxburgh, and Berwick. The Earl was now about 57 years of age. He had married (in 1359) Margaret, daughter of Ralph, Lord Nevil of Raby, in Durham, and had three grown sons Henry, [3]Thomas, and Ralph.

Associated with Lord Percy was his [4]kinsman, Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland. He had been high in favour with Richard, had been a member of the council, Warden of the West March, Constable of the Tower of London, and frequently a commissioner and representative of the King abroad. [5]He had married Joan Beaufort, a daughter of John of Ghent, and half-sister of King Henry. In 1398 he had been made Earl of Westmoreland, but he joined with the Earl of Northumberland in giving welcome to Henry on his landing in Yorkshire, and was rewarded with the office of Marshal of England, an office of great power and influence, conferring on the holder the right to a seat in the King's court or council. [6]Special privileges which had formerly belonged to the office, but which had lapsed or been neglected with time, were now expressly restored to it. The Marshal was to have the sole appointment

[1] ISSUE ROLL, November 22, 1399; ROT. SCOT., 151. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., i, 12 (Oct. 24th, 1399), also pt. 4, m. 2, and CLAUS., 1 H. IV., i, 15 (Oct. 14th). [3] Thomas Percy soon afterwards died in Spain.—ANN., 342.

[4] Lord Percy had married his aunt, thus:

Ralph Nevil, +1367.

John, +1388.	Margaret, = E. of Northumberland.
Ralph, E. of Westmoreland.	

[5] OTT., 204. For he had wed the Duke's (=Hy. IV.) sister dere,
A full-good lady without any were.

[6] RYM., viii, 115.

of his subordinates vested absolutely in himself, and in token of this renewal of the lost privileges of the office, he was to carry a gold staff or baton, instead of the wooden one previously borne by his predecessors. The Earl had also a grant of the [1]castle and honour of Richmond, forfeited by the Duke of Brittany; the custody of the castles and lands of [2]William, late Lord of Dacre; together with a portion of the [3]confiscated property of the late Earl of Wiltshire, a [4]grant of £130 per annum from the revenues of Carlisle, and the custody of all the royal [5]forests north of the Trent. His brother Thomas, Lord Furnival, at the same time received the disputed border lands in [6]Annandale, on the West March, together with the castle of Lochmaben.

The throne having been vacant, it was held that all judges, lieutenants of counties, and other officers who held their appointments from the King, had ceased to hold office when Richard had resigned. To prevent delay in the administration of the kingdom, their places were immediately refilled, the new officers taking an [7]oath of allegiance to Henry.

The five chief officers of state were then the Chancellor, Treasurer, Keeper of Privy Seal, Chamberlain, and Seneschal or Steward of the King's Household—all of them being ex-officio members of the King's Council. [8] The Council at this time consisted of some twenty-five persons, including the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. All but the ex-officio members were appointed for one year; they were paid for their services, and liable to fine for non-attendance.

Archbishop Arundel had resumed his old office of Chancellor

[1] See the grant dated October 20th, 1399, in PAT., 1 H. IV., p. i, m. 17. *Ibid*, viii, 39. [2] Dated October 19th, 1399, in PAT., 1 H. IV., i, 19. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., iv, 12 (December 11th, 1399). [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., vii, 28 (May 25th, 1400). [5] PAT., 1 H. IV., viii, 32 (May 25th). [6] ROT. SCOT., 151. [7] See the form of oath in Foss, iii, 360. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., I., iv. Twenty-four were present at the Council on December 4th, 1399.

as soon as the success of Henry seemed assured. He had then resigned it (September 5th) into the hands of Sir John Scarle, an ecclesiastic and a lawyer, who had had more than twenty years' experience of political life. [1] He had been a Master in Chancery, Master of the Rolls, Clerk to the Parliament, and several times a Receiver of Petitions.

John [2]Norbury, a rich Cheshire squire, and one of the few who landed with Henry, was appointed Treasurer, in place of the Earl of Wiltshire, who had lately been executed at Bristol. [3]He was to have the custody of the Manor of Havering-atte-Bower, with a maintenance of £40 per annum. He had also the castles of Ledes, Cromelyn (in Ireland), and Guynes, together with valuable perquisites from the tin mines and wreckage in Cornwall.

Sir Thomas Erpingham, a knight [4]who had also crossed with Henry from Brittany, was made Chamberlain. He had served with Henry's father in Spain, and had been rewarded with large estates near King's Lynn, in Norfolk. On the [5]12th November he was made Constable of the Castle of Framingham, with the custody of the lands of John Clifton. He was at that time a favourer of the Lollards, more probably from attachment to John of Ghent than from any personal convictions. He was now made Constable of [6]Dover Castle and [7]Warden of the Cinque Ports for life, and had [8]custody of the lands of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.

Sir Richard Clifford remained Keeper of the Privy Seal, though he had been a strong partisan of King Richard, and was even named [9]one of the executors of his will. He made his

[1] FOSS, iv, 178. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 553. "Scutifer valentissimus divitiarum opulentiâ divitibus præferendus. [3] PAT., 1 H. 1V., iii, 1 (November 5th, 1399). [4] EVESH., 151. [5] PAT., 1 H. 1V., iii, 30. [6] PAT., 1 H. 1V., v, 22 (September 30th, 1399). [7] WRIT. PARL., 1 H. 1V PAT., 1 H. 1V., ii, 5 (November 5th, 1399). [8] He paid £77 13s. 4d. on May 20th, 1400.— RECEIPT ROLL PASCH., 1 H. 1V. [9] RYM., viii, 77.

submission however, and retained his office. [1]His pardon was granted, and he was taken for a good and loyal subject.

The King's second son, Thomas, a boy eleven years old, was made Seneschal of England, with liberal grants of land in [2]Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, and elsewhere, to maintain the dignity of the office. In this he was merely attached to the Constable and Marshal, who were to hold a feudal court at Whitehall, to hear and decide upon claims to offices which were to be filled on the day of coronation. He himself was assisted and advised by a Vice-Seneschal. This was Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, and brother to the Earl of Northumberland, who had served under the Black Prince in France and Spain; had been three times Admiral of the Fleet; often an Ambassador abroad; and had held the office of Steward or Seneschal under King Richard, but had resigned it at his fall; and had been [3]confirmed by Henry in all his previous grants and emoluments. On the [4]15th of November he was appointed Admiral of the Fleet, from the mouth of the Thames northward and westward, as well as of vessels in Ireland, with power to appoint a deputy.

Every judge was continued in his office, no single alteration being made, save the appointment of two additional [5]Barons of the Exchequer to fill the vacancies which had occurred before the deposition of Richard. This conduct of Henry indicates very unmistakeably the character of the revolution. Several of the judges thus retained in office had practically given their adherence to the party of Richard, sanctioning publicly the

[1] Rot. Parl., iii, 428. [2] Pat., 1 H. IV., ii, 5 (November 3rd, 1399); also m. 14 (November 13th); also Pat., 1 H. IV., iv, 9 (November 2nd). [3] Pat., 1 H. IV., iii, 14 (November 7th, 1399). [4] Pat., 1 H. IV., iii, 29. *Ibid*, vi, 36; add Claus., 1 H. IV., i, 6, 11, 13. [5] The puisne Barons of the Exchequer, though ecclesiastics, as all the judges then were, were not reckoned as men of the law, and occupied inferior positions as compared with the puisne judges in the other courts.

conduct of their predecessors, who had been executed or banished by the Duke of Gloucester's commission. Judges in the late reign had been deprived and banished *en bloc*, [1]so that it would have been no unheard-of thing, had Henry followed the evil example, and required all those who held office as judges to be his [2]personal partisans and adherents. But his prudence and his real interests alike required him to make as few changes as possible, and he was fortunate in [3]securing the support of the lawyers, to give an appearance of legality to his usurpation.

The courts in which justice was administered were four in number: (1) The Chancery; (2) The Court of King's Bench; (3) The Exchequer Court; (4) The Court of Common Pleas. These courts were presided over each by its own judge. They had originated from the gradual subdivision of the King's Court *(curia regis)*, in which all great disputes had at first been decided by the King in person. Gradually, with the great increase of business, and with the increasing complexity of the law, it became, of course, necessary to divide the work, and to entrust the administration to officers specially trained in legal learning and practice. These officers, at the close of the fourteenth century, were all ecclesiastics, and although several attempts had been made by refractory parliaments to procure the appointment of judges who were laymen, yet, so far, the rule remained practically universal, that none but ecclesiastics presided over or pleaded in the courts. This does not appear to have been enacted by statute, but was the natural consequence of the system of training of the time, which [4]opened all the

[1] Cf. also temp. H. III.; Foss, ii, 146. [2] By oath the judges bound themselves "if they were found in default, to be at the King's will of body, lands, and goods thereof, to be done as shall please him."—Foss, iii, 362. [3] By PAT., 1 H. IV., i, 28, dated September 30th, 1399, Henry had already granted to Clopton 180 marks beyond usual fees, to Thernyng £93 6s. 8d., and to seven other judges 110 marks each. [4] See STATUTES OF COLLEGES at Oxford.

advantages for the study of the common and civil law to the clergy alone.

The limits of the jurisdiction of the several courts were not very accurately defined, but the subjects which came under the cognisance of each may be roughly classified thus:

1. The Chancery, or Chancellor's Court, was of more political significance than the other three. The Chancellor was the King's representative in affixing the great seal to all documents which received the royal assent. These might be of the nature of summons to parliament, charters to cities or boroughs, grants of land to individuals or corporations. In short, any proceedings which required the sanction of the King's seal were decided in the Chancellor's Court. The Chancellor has been happily termed "the Chief Secretary of State for all [1]Departments." "His influence pervaded all the branches of the administration. Diplomacy was very peculiarly within his province." "Until the reign of Richard II. there is reason to suppose that almost every branch of policy, whether foreign or domestic, came, at some stage or other, into what, in modern times, would be called the Chancellor's office. About that period, however, many portions—especially those relating to foreign affairs—were drawn off into the council." The Chancellor was himself the Keeper of the Great Seal; or the actual custody of the seal was at times committed to a separate officer of great dignity and authority, appointed either as an assistant or a counterpoise. The term of office of the Chancellor, and of all other judges, was variable and dependent upon the King's pleasure. The Chancellor was now regularly assisted by a

[1] DEP. KEEP. 3rd REPT., p. 20. See specimens of Chancery Rolls in GEN. REPT. RECD. COM., 1837, including Close Rolls (under which are parliamentary writs of summons and election, wages of members, swearing of officers, &c.) Patent Rolls, Norman Rolls, Oblates and Fines, Liberate Rolls, Charter Rolls, Gascon Rolls, Statutes and Parliamentary Rolls. See also Schedule in App. I., p. 3, DEP. KEEP. REPT., 1841; also pp. 26-47 for various branches of the functions of the Great Seal.

Master or Keeper of the Chancery Rolls, who was always a lawyer and ecclesiastic, though subordinate in rank. The Chancellor was, by his office, one of the five chief officers of state, and as such was entitled to a seat at the King's Privy Council. The office was now filled, as above stated, by John Scarle, who had before been Master of the Rolls; while [1]Sir Thomas Stanley, who had been for several years past a Clerk or Master of the Chancery, and who had been appointed Master of the Rolls in 1397, was continued in his office. There were living several eminent men who had already filled (some of them more than once) the office of Chancellor in preceding reigns; among them being Thomas Arundel (now Archbishop of Canterbury); William of Wickham, Bishop of Winchester; Sir Richard Scrope, (a layman, an exceptional case); and Edmund [2]Stafford, Bishop of Exeter.

2. The Court of King's Bench dealt with all cases (except those belonging to the revenue) in which the King's interests were concerned. The Court was usually held at Westminster, and was then presided over by a Chief Justice and two puisne judges. The Chief Justice of the King's Bench was Sir Walter Clopton, who had held the appointment during the last twelve years of Richard's reign.

3. The Court of Common Pleas had cognisance of [3]"personal actions" and disputes to which the King was not a party. It had been a grievance felt under the misgovernment of John that Common Pleas had to "follow the crown," *i.e.* that justice could only be obtained in such cases by attending at the place where the King happened to be in person resident. By one of the clauses of the Great Charter of John, Common Pleas were to be decided in a fixed place, and now that a separate Court was constituted for their decision, the sittings were almost

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., i, 32 (September 30th, 1399). [2] OTT., 202. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 466 b.

always held at Westminster. The Court was managed by six judges, one of whom was the [1]Chief Justice of the Common Bench. The Chief Justice was [2]Sir William Thernyng, who had held the office since 1396. He had had a long experience of public life, [3]having been on the bench for more than twelve years, during which time he had managed to keep his place under opposing factions and rival governments. Now that the star of Henry was rising, he stood forward as his chief judicial supporter, greatly assisting the usurpation by his legal knowledge and his experience of constitutional procedure. It was by his advice that Henry had so scrupulously observed the forms of seeming legality in all the proceedings connected with his accession, and had given up his expressed determination to base his claim upon the right of conquest. It may have been by his advice that Henry at first merely claimed to revive the office of Chief Justiciary of England, which he asserted to be his by right as Duke of Lancaster. The office had been one of great power in the old days, and conferred upon the holder (usually a powerful layman or ecclesiastic) all the rights of a Regent in the absence of the King. But events had moved rapidly, and Henry could no longer be content with anything short of his cousin's crown. Thernyng had been the spokesman and the leading spirit of the deputation from the parliament, which had exacted from Richard, in the Tower, his abdication and renunciation of the throne. He of course would not hesitate to take the oath of allegiance to Henry, and was continued in office during the whole of his reign.

4. Fiscal questions and matters concerning the revenue were decided in the Court of Exchequer, which claims a higher antiquity than either of the two preceding courts. It held its

[1]Chief Justice de Commune Bank.—Rot. Parl., iii, 454. [2]Iss. Roll, 1 H. IV.; Pat., 1 H. IV., i, 35 (September 30th, 1399). [3]Foss (iv, 210) calls him the oldest and most respected judge on the bench.

sittings at Westminster, and was presided over, at the close of Richard's reign, by a Chief Baron and four others, "to [1]speed the levying and getting in of the King's debts, and to manage the crown revenue to the best advantage." The Juniors in this Court were not necessarily skilled lawyers, but were often merely special officers who had a practical knowledge of the revenue. The Chief Baron was [2]John Cassy, who had been appointed in 1389. He was retained in office by Henry, as also were two of his juniors, [3]two others being at the same time appointed to fill vacancies which had occurred.

The judges were forbidden by statute and by their oath to accept any fee, payment, or reward from those whose cases were decided by them, except sufficient meat and drink at the time the case was proceeding; but it is probable that this rule was often violated, at least in previous reigns. The salary of each Chief Justice was £40 and of the others 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) per annum; [4]but large increments were usually paid, bringing up the salary of a Chief Justice to £132, and of a puisne judge to £100 per annum, together with an additional £20 in each case, to support their dignity and defray expenses when going circuit. These sums were supposed to be sufficient to prevent the necessity of accepting gifts from suitors. They were also paid additionally for their services when employed as itinerant justices, to hold courts in the assize towns, and several of them had important parliamentary work to do as receivers and triers of petitions, much the same kind of work as is now done in Parliamentary Committees. Their persons were to be protected while in the exercise of their duties, and by a statute (passed in 1351), it was declared to be treason, and punishable

[1] MADOX, EXCH., 592. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., i, 32 (September 30th, 1399). [3] John Nottingham (clerk) was Chancellor of the Exchequer, receiving 40 marks per annum. — ISSUE ROLL. [4] See payments to William Brenchley and Hugh Huls in ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., November 6th.

with forfeiture and death, to kill them while doing their offices. They were (as stated above) all ecclesiastics and might hold bishoprics or other church preferment conjointly with their legal offices.

On the same day on which the parliament had been summoned (October 6th, 1399) the Convocation of the Clergy of the [1]province of Canterbury met in the Chapter House of St. Paul's Church in London. Next after the power of the nobles and owners of the land, and far superior in power to the citizens, traders, and commoners, stood the Clergy. Their power was derived from their zeal, their learning, their individual influence with the courtiers and nobles, and their organisation for united defence as a wealthy and privileged class. In by-gone simpler days, they had claimed and enjoyed an independence which would now have been dangerous, and exemptions which would now have been impossible. They had been subject only to ecclesiastical courts, constituted from among members of their own order, and guided by church-made law. They had held lands free from feudal obligations, and had claimed to appeal to a foreign court against the ordinances of the parliament at home; but with their growing power their independence was disappearing, and being now the trustees and possessors of immense wealth in land and moveables, they were gradually yielding up their separate privileges and becoming merged in the growing strength of the whole united nation.

As yet, however, their position was uncertain and undefined. The Bishops (though much against their will) had been long ago made to bear their share of the usual feudal obligations, and, as barons, they had received their summons to assist the King and tax themselves in Parliament. But, inasmuch as the Bishops and the few Abbots and Priors who were summoned

[1] *i.e.* From all counties (except Cheshire, but including Wales) south of the Humber and Mersey. See VALOR ECCLESIASTICUS. RECD. COM.

could represent none but themselves and their individual estates, an attempt was made to make the whole clergy tax themselves by means of their Convocations. These were meetings, originally of Bishops, to settle merely ecclesiastical matters, and for the government of the Church. But, by the time of Edward I., the Convocations had been remodelled. Originally the Archbishops of Canterbury and York summoned in their own name the Bishops and Prelates (*i.e.* Abbots or Priors) whom they wished to attend. [1]Now, the King's writ was necessary to the Archbishops, authorizing them to summon the Convocations of their respective Provinces. But, whereas the Convocation had before consisted of Bishops and Prelates alone, it was now enlarged so as to include Deans, Archdeacons, Colleges, and Proctors, or representatives of the whole clergy from each diocese. So the Convocations were reformed in spite of much opposition from the Bishops, whose monopoly of church government was thereby destroyed. The whole body of the clergy were allowed a voice in the making of the canons by which they were to be governed, and at the same time were required to tax themselves according to the King's and the nation's necessities. Side by side with this obligation, they at once asserted their right to submit grievances and complaints *(gravamina)*, making their redress the condition on which the [2]supplies asked for were to be granted.

[1] Writs of summons from the King were issued to the two Archbishops, eighteen Bishops with their Archdeacons and Deans (as Priors of Cathedral Churches), twenty-five Abbots, two Priors, and from every diocese two Proctors, to represent the body of the clergy. The list of the Abbots is made up from Peterborough, Glastonbury, Bury St. Edmunds, Abingdon, York (St. Mary's), Waltham, Croyland, Bardney, St. Benet of Hulme, Malmesbury, Reading, St. Alban's, Selby, Thorney, Beaulieu, Westminster, Canterbury (St. Augustine), Cirencester, Evesham, Gloucester, Ramsey, Whitby, Shrewsbury, and Colchester. The two Priors are from Coventry and Clerkenwell. See list in REP. DIGN. PEER, iii, 768. [2] The old theory remained, viz.: that church property was exempt; though the priests *might* pay *if the prelates gave their consent.* See it stated by the Friar (Daw Topias) in POL. SONGS, ii, 80.

Henry had owed his sudden success largely to the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury; he depended greatly upon the judges and law officers, all of whom were ecclesiastics. He had declared that he was resolved to preserve all the liberties of the Church, and he now sent the Constable and Marshal to the Convocation, explaining that henceforth the clergy should not be subject to tax, tallage, or benevolence, except under urgent necessity, asking in set form for their prayers, and declaring himself willing to punish heresy as far as lay in his power. A list of grievances was then drawn up, to be presented while the iron was hot, and the Convocation was adjourned till after the King's coronation.

The complaints are directed partly against the Bishops for the greediness and fraud and abuse committed in their name, and apparently with their sanction, in the Ecclesiastical Courts; and the King took the earliest opportunity (Thursday, October 16th) to assert publicly in the parliament, [1]that he would see that worthy persons should be over the Church, and not such as many of those appointed in the late reign had proved themselves. Partly they complain against encroachments of the royal officers upon the privileges of the clergy, by bringing them into the secular courts. They requested also that the great Statute against Provisors should be set aside, as bearing hardly upon students at the Universities, who could not reside at their cures; and this favour they were strong enough to obtain. It is to be noted that the Pope had quite recently granted dispensations for the worst ecclesiastical abuses, *e.g.* simony, plurality of livings, beneficed minors, &c., in consideration of grants of money; and had sent a representative to England

(1402). "Not for thanne the comun lawe may wel suffren, that preesthode may paye bi assent of prelatis ffreli of her owne wille no thing constreynede, and thus prelatis and persouns aftir her state ben stended to paien what that nede askith."

[1] Ann., 304.—Usk, 140.

[1](Peter du Bois, Bishop of Dax, in Gascony) in October, 1398, to obtain, if possible, the abolition of the Statute; but in this he had failed, in spite of the subservience of Richard and his Committee of Parliament.

[1] Usk, 149; Trais., 161; Rym., viii, 111. Pat., 1 H. IV., i, 17, confirms a grant of 50 marks to "Peter van Busch," October 28th, 1399.

CHAPTER III.

The Coronation

The arrangements for the coronation being completed, the King prepared to make a triumphal progress through London. On Saturday, October 11th, he slept at the Tower, and appears that night to have instituted a new military Order of Knighthood, [1]King Richard being present at the proceedings.

Military Orders or Brotherhoods had done great service some generations before. Originating with the Crusaders, they formed associations for the defence of Christians, and their members had bound themselves by vows to a life of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Some kept the roads, protecting travellers on their way to the Holy Places; others entertained pilgrims during their stay, tending the sick and sheltering strangers. The Church gave her sanction, granting privileges and exemptions; and wealthy pilgrims gave goods, lands, and possessions, as tokens of their piety and gratitude. Active service against the infidel brought profit and honour, and multitudes of Orders rose rapidly to fame and reputation for great deeds done against the Turks, the Moors, and the heathen of the North. Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, Knights Templars, Knights Hospitallers, Teutonic Knights, Knights of St. James, St. Catherine, St. Lazarus, found work and profit in Palestine and Spain and on the shores of the Baltic. But wealth and idleness soon worked decay; and [2]though attempts were made to give new meaning to the Brotherhoods by inciting them to destroy the heretics of

[1] Usk, 146. [2] Cf. the Knights of Jesus Christ in France and Italy, or the Brothers of the Militia of St. Dominic, enrolled against the Albigenses.

Albi in the thirteenth century, yet this perversion had but a momentary success, and the military orders, purely ecclesiastic, never really revived.

In the fourteenth century Edward III. instituted the first English military Order under altered circumstances. The strict ecclesiastic vows were not abolished, but differently explained. The members were to be vowed to a life of chastity in the sense of fidelity to their wives; of poverty, not of purse but of spirit; and of obedience, not to the church to command their services against its enemies but to the King as their superior; not to take arms against one another; not to leave the country without express permission, but to follow their sovereign in all things with absolute devotion. Edward's long wars in France had been a nursery for a new race of English soldiers and captains; military talent had free scope, and many who had no claim to precedence by birth had made their services felt in battle, and had been dubbed or knighted on the field. The foremost of these had been constituted Knights Companions of a new Order, and by this means the King had offered a reward for past services and an incentive for the future; while he collected around his person a strong body-guard of devoted and skilful soldiers, united in a powerful bond of sentiment, to advance his interests and defend his throne.

[1]The new brotherhood was to consist of twenty-six members, *i.e.* twenty-five Knights Companions, and the reigning King, who was always to be the Superior of the Order. The first members were the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lancaster, three Earls, five Lords, and fifteen Commoners, [2]nearly all Englishmen, and all without exception distinguished for valour in the foreign wars. [3]Those who had not family estates were granted pensions

[1] See ARCHÆOL., xxxi, 1-162. [2] Three were foreigners.—NICHOLAS, p. 38. [3] *e.g.* £200 to Sir John Lisle, £20 to Sir Nele Loring, for sea-fight at Sluys.

for the due support of their new dignity. The number of Knights was to be strictly limited to twenty-six. They were to be supplied with coats, mantles, and hoods from the royal wardrobe, and to wear always on the left leg a blue garter, supplied also at the King's expense, and inscribed with the [1]French motto worked in gold thread : " Hony soyt quy mal y pense." This garter, with the motto, was to be the distinguishing badge of the Knights. It was chosen perhaps from some trivial circumstance, though the exact reason is now no longer known, and the meaning of the inscription can only be guessed. The connection with the story of Edward's amour with the Countess of Salisbury was probably invented afterwards to give a sort of meaning to the obscure motto. But no such explanation is necessary. It was the custom of the time to take some common object as a fantastic badge of dignity. [2]Edward III. wore on his shield the words :

" Ha, ha, the white swan,
By God his soul I am thy man."

Richard II. assumed the white hart ; [3]Henry IV an antelope, a white swan, a fox's brush, or a greyhound. There were military Orders of the Stocking, the Collar, the Porcupine, the Broom Flower, and the Thistle ; [4]while the fashion of the time supplies abundant instances of the practice then prevalent of embroidering mottoes upon articles of clothing, frequently mere fragments of words and sentences, the meaning of which is now altogether lost. The Order though partly military still retained

[1]A contemporary of Rich. II. gives it : " Honniz soit celluy qui mal pense," from the robes worn in the lists at Coventry, in September, 1398. TRAIS., 18. [2]SCOTT, Essay on Chivalry, 33. [3]USK, 133. [4]Cf. MICHELET, Hist. iv., Bk. 7, quoting Ordonnances de Charles, Duc d'Orléans. " And they will take for their badge a garter, or a bracelet, a smock, a turnip, or a pig, or God only knows what trumpery," says the Abbot in PETIT JEAN DE SAINTRE, ch. lxxxi. Cf. the lists of Richard and Isabella's effects for chapel services in RYM., 8, 294, including cloth embroidered with trees, white harts, parrots, lions, red beasts, flowers, &c. Chaucer's Squire was

" Embrouded as it were a mede,
Alle ful of freshe floures, white and rede."—PROLOGUE, 90.

a strong connection with the Church. It was put under the especial protection of the Holy Trinity, the Blessed Virgin, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. George of Cappadocia, [1]the Church's favourite military champion against the heathen. There were Canons and Chaplains, a Chancellor, Prelates, [2]Vergers and Almoners for the services of the chapel of St. George at Windsor, with Heralds for North and South, Pursuivants and Kings-at-arms to regulate the pageantry at the great annual feast on St. George's Day. The original statutes of the Order have long since been lost, but a copy made in the reign of Henry V may still be seen. It is probably only a fragment, as it contains very little beyond minute directions for attending divine service, and for choosing members to fill vacancies as they occurred. [3]Edward's example was soon followed in other countries, and numerous military Orders on the new model sprang up, some following the pattern of the English Order very closely, but all intended like the English type to foster military prowess, not as in the old days in the interest of the Church against infidels and heretics, but to be used for the advancement of the designs of their founder, who was often some unscrupulous pretender with a questionable title which needed help from any obtainable quarter. [4]So on the opening of his uncertain reign, Henry IV instituted a second English military Order of Knights, intended certainly to strengthen his position in the country, and perhaps with a hope of one day superseding the older Order, the [5]Knights of the

[1]Qui totius militiæ Anglicanæ spiritualis est patronus.—CONC., iii, 241. [2]On November 11th, 1399, Thomas Sy was appointed verger of the "Comitiva" of the Garter.—PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 20. [3]*e.g.* The Thistle of Bourbon, by Louis, second Duke of Bourbon, in 1370; the Golden Fleece, St. Michael; L'ordre de l'Hermine, to which ladies were eligible, formed by John, fourth Duke of Brittany (1364-1399).—ART DE VER., ii, 907. [4]In the same year (1399) Boucicaut, Marshal of France, founded his Order of thirteen Knights of the White Lady with the Green Shield, La Dame Blanche à l'escu verd.—MEM. 17, 209. [5]See ANSTIS, Register of Order of Garter.

Garter being many of them uncertain in their allegiance, and the Order itself having lost much of its original brilliancy.

The new Knights were styled "Knights [1]Companions of the Bath," from the [2]custom of washing the body on the eve of great religious ceremonies. Their number was never fixed, but might depend upon the pleasure of the King. [3]"There is no early or complete register of the Order of the Bath." There were no statutes. The emblem of the Order consisted of three crowns with the ecclesiastical legend: "Tria juncto in uno," and its special services were held in the Abbey Church at Westminster. The Knights wore their robes only at ceremonies. The original number of members is variously given at [4]41, [5]45, [6]46, [7]50 or [8]54; but the artificial character of the new distinction is shown very plainly by the appearance amongst the first created Knights of Henry's four sons, all of them boys under twelve years of age. Writers strictly contemporary give scanty details as to the new Order, and the truth of the whole story has been questioned. But there is no reason to doubt that the Order of the Bath did originate as described, and the Issue Roll dated [9]November 22nd, 1399, records a payment of £43 6s. 8d. to Henry Greene, and other heralds "on account of the solemnity of divers Knights created anew by the King on the day before the coronation." As usual, the accounts become more full and circumstantial with later writers, living more than one hundred years after the events, until [10]Holinshead is able to give us a list of forty names of the first batch of Knights. But the list is suspiciously complete, and is rendered the more doubtful as it contains the names of [11]two Justices of Common Pleas, both

[1]Cf. The account of the ten "Companies" in L'HISTOIRE DE PETIT JEAN DE SAINTRE.—Ch. 65-67. [2]See BURKE, John de Harrington, temp. Ed. I. CHAUCER, KNIGHTS TALE, 1425, "Hise body wessch with water of a welle." [3]NICHOLAS I, iv. [4]FAB. [5]CRET. from Eyewitness. [6]FROIS. [7]ANN. [8]TRAIS. [9]PELLS. BODL., ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV Mich. [10]Copying from MS. BODL., 2376 (says TRAIS., 225). [11]Yet see precedents for this in NICHOLAS, I, xxxiv.

ecclesiastics, one of whom, Sir William Hankford, was an ancestor of Ann Boleyn, the mother of Queen Elizabeth.

On Sunday (October 12th, 1399) the King passed in state through London. He had [1]previously established cordial relations with the citizens, and was sure of an enthusiastic reception. Starting from the Tower (where Richard was still detained), he rode bare-headed in the rain through the city, with great magnificence, and was everywhere hailed with acclamation. He was mounted on a white horse, and wore a short jacket of gold cloth; on his left leg was the blue garter, and [2]round his neck an order of the King of France. [3]With him rode the Prince of Wales, six Dukes, six Earls, and eighteen Barons. Six thousand horsemen were in the procession, and among them many of the newly created Knights. The citizens of London, the Lombard Merchants, the [4]Masters of the Companies, welcomed him; and in Cheapside, nine fountains flowed with red and white wine. At Westminster, the King was received by the Abbot, and slept in the palace that night. The following day he was crowned in the Abbey, after the old form of coronation of the English Kings. Four burgesses of Dover, representing the Cinque Ports, carried the canopy of blue silk over his head; and he received the crown, the sceptre, the swords, the golden wand with the dove, the sandals and the bracelets. [5]It was noticed that exactly one year before he had left the country an exile, and that a special Providence had brought him back to set him amongst Princes. [6]A story was spread that the oil with which he was anointed had been miraculously given to Archbishop Thomas Becket, when he

[1] For his letters from Pontefract and Bristol, see TRAIS., 40. [2] FROIS., iv, 670. [3] The figures are of course variously given both in contemporary writers, such as Froissart and Otterbourne, and in subsequent chroniclers who delight in pageant, such as Fabian and Holinshead. [4] HERBERT, Hist. Livery Companies, i, 90. [5] HARD., 348; OTT., 221. [6] BOUCHET, Annales d' Aquitaine, III, ch. iv (in ARCH., xx, 266). Cf. REL. DE ST. DENYS.

was an exile from his country at Sens; that it had been preserved in the church of St. Gregory at Poictiers, the Archbishop having declared that he who should be anointed King with it should be a King indeed; should be the champion of the Church and the destroyer of heresy; that he should build many churches in the [1]Holy Land, drive out the heathen from Babylon, and should recover the lost provinces of Normandy and Aquitaine. Clearly, great hopes were entertained by the churchmen, as well as others, that they had in Henry an instrument ready to their hands.

[1]St. Den., xx, 13.

CHAPTER IV

The First Parliament.

On Tuesday, October 14th, 1399, the Parliament met for the transaction of business at Westminster. Parliaments had played a singularly conspicuous part in the History of the late reign, but the fatal unanimity with which they had alternately sanctioned and annulled the proceedings of opposite factions, proves beyond doubt that they had as yet no real independence. The position and privileges of the Parliaments of that age can be understood only by studying their action year by year, but a few notes of their constitution at the time may serve as an introduction to the subject here. These notes are chiefly taken from an anonymous tract, entitled "Modus tenendi Parliamentum," often discussed and variously interpreted. The author is unknown, but the book was probably written in the fourteenth century; and as a copy of it was authorised in 1405, under the Great Seal for application to Ireland, it is certain that even if the writer were not a contemporary, yet the contents of the book were not obsolete at the beginning of the reign of Henry IV It deals with the Parliament as a Court composed of six degrees or ranks, viz.: 1.—The King. 2.—The Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and Priors. 3.—The Lower Clergy, represented by two Proctors or Prolocutors *(i.e.* speakers) for each archdeaconry. 4.—The Earls and Barons, *(i.e.* all who had rents and lands valued at £400 or 400 marks respectively). These were summoned by writs from the King. 5.—Knights to

[1] Hardy's Edition.

represent the counties, two from each, elected through and probably by the Sheriffs. 6.—Citizens and Burgesses, two from each city or borough, elected through and probably by the Mayors and Sheriffs in cities, and the Bailiffs and "good men" *(probi homines)* in boroughs. Of these ranks, the Lower Clergy, the Knights of Shires, the Burgesses and Citizens are collectively styled "the Commons" *(communitas)*. They were to be paid for their services while attending the Parliament, [1]the payments not to exceed 10s. or occasionally one mark (13s. 4d.) per day for the two, to be paid by the county, city or borough, which they represented. No one who was summoned could be absent under penalty of a heavy fine, [2]though special exemptions could be granted at the pleasure of the King. The King himself was required to be present, except in case of illness, and he could require the Parliament to meet at any place that he chose. Each Order was to deliberate separately, and each had its own clerk, whose duty was to attend their discussions and enrol their petitions and grievances on [3]parchment rolls, to be presented to the King in due course for redress. The Parliament was not to separate till every petition had been considered and answered. The decision in each case was enrolled by two principal clerks, who delivered the rolls to the Treasurer to be deposited in the Treasury; but any Order or individual member could procure a copy of any petition and answer in which he was interested by a payment to the clerk of the Order to which he belonged. The rate of payment was to be 1d. for ten lines, each line to be ten inches long, but a copy could be obtained for nothing by the applicant making a declaration that he was altogether unable to pay.

[1] They were usually less, *i.e.* 4s. each per day for Knights of Shires, 2s. for Burgesses.—PRYNNE, passim. [2] Cf. RYM., viii, 110, two years' exemption granted as a favour to Bishop of Ely. *Ibid*, viii, 236, three years' exemption to Lord de la Warr; also Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.—PAT., 2 H. IV., i, 6. [3] The Lords' Journals do not begin till Hy. VIII.; the Commons till Ed. VI.—PARL. HIST., Pref. i.

The business with which the Parliament had to do was divided under three heads. 1.—War, and matters relating to the King or Queen, or their children. 2.—The consideration of laws, chiefly the alteration of existing enactments. 3.—Private [1]business contained in petitions presented by individual Orders or districts, or boroughs, or persons.

In all these matters it was recognized that "the Commons" were only "petitioners,"—that the decision or "judgment" of all matters rested with the King and the Lords,—but that the King should specially ask the "advice and consent" of the Commons in making statutes, grants, or subsidies, or other such matters "for the common profit of the kingdom." In cases of disagreement, provision was made for a joint conference of representative members from all the Orders, but for most purposes they met and deliberated apart.

[2]The two clerical Orders formed the Convocation of the Clergy. The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury met in the Chapter House of St. Paul's, in London, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who issued writs of summons. Eighteen Bishops, with the Benedictine Abbots of Gloucester and Glastonbury, and the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, formed one assembly; while other Priors and Abbots, and the Proctors of the Clergy deliberated apart, though within the same building.

The Earls and Barons were summoned personally by the King. The right or duty of attending seems to have become hereditary. When once conferred on a nobleman it was usually continued to his successor, [3]until the family was either disgraced

[1] See DEP. KEEP. 17th REPT., p. 8, for account of ancient petitions in Tower; also 34th REPT., App. i, gives alphabetical list of petitions to the King in Council, (Ed. I.—Ed. IV.)—9600 documents. [2] This at least is the view of the "Modus;" but Archbishops, Bishops, and Royal Abbots received their summons from the King to sit at Westminster as Lords, and thirty-two of the latter class were present in the Parliament on September 30th, 1399.—TRAIS., 68. [3] See REP. DIG. PEER.; also COOPER, ii, 82; also Parliamentary Writs and Returns from 18 Ed. I.—17 Ed. IV., in DEP. KEEP. 2nd REPT., App. I, 1.

or extinct. The list of Nobles summoned by Henry to this Parliament shows no departure of any consequence from the lists of those summoned to the Parliaments of his predecessor. Forty-nine persons are summoned by name, four of them Dukes, [1]the only holders of the title, viz.: the Dukes of York and Albemarle (the King's uncle and cousin), the Duke of Exeter (his brother-in-law), and the Duke of Surrey [2](nephew to the Duke of Exeter). The list includes also the Marquis of Dorset (half-brother to the King), the Earls of Warwick, Oxford, Devon, Salisbury, Northumberland, Stafford, Suffolk, Worcester, Gloucester, and Westmoreland, and thirty-four Barons owning estates in every county of England, and most of them related together by ties of blood or intermarriage.

The Knights of the Shire were summoned through the [3]Sheriff in the court of their county, but there was probably very little election in the matter, the Sheriffs having practically the power of nominating, [4]though some recollection was preserved of a claim that the people of the district had originally a right to elect the representatives for their counties.

Writs to the Sheriffs for this First Parliament of Henry are extant for thirty-four counties, each of which—the small and the great alike—returned two members, Yorkshire no more, and Rutland no less. No summons was issued to the Palatine Counties of Durham and [5]Cheshire, as the King's writ did not

[1] The Dnke of Norfolk had just died at Venice, and his children had not been recognized. [2] Not brother, as GREEN, 259.

[3] "And sente side sondis
To schrevys abouzte
To chese swiche chevalleris
As the charge wold
To schewe for the schire
In company with the grete."—POL. SONGS, i, 413.

[4] *e.g.* In 1404, Thomas Thorpe claimed that he had been elected "in full connty," yet the Sheriff set him aside and returned his own nominee. An enqniry was held, and the Sheriff was dismissed, imprisoned, and fined.—ROT. PARL., iii, 530. [5] ORMEROD, I, xxxiii., Cheshire sent no member till temp. Henry VIII.

run there, and no writs are to be found for the counties of Devon, Huntingdon, or Cambridge. [1] They are evidently lost, and we shall probably be correct in calculating the number of Knights of the Shire at seventy-four, representing thirty-seven English Counties. The Knights were to be belted *(gladio cincti)*, and were to have full power to speak in the name of the county which sent them up.

One-hundred and seventy-three Citizens and Burgesses are returned on the existing writs for eighty-five Cities and Boroughs. If the missing writs for the three remaining counties were available the numbers would probably be about one-hundred and ninety. They are to be chosen from the "most discreet and sufficient" of the Burgesses and Citizens. Each borough and city named sends two members, except London and Hull, which send four and three members respectively. The distribution of representatives is very unequal, [2]the Southern counties having a great preponderance over the Northern and Midland. Thus Sussex has the largest borough representation, sending eighteen members to represent [3]nine boroughs, while Wiltshire sends sixteen, and the seven Cinque Ports fourteen members. Lancashire, on the other hand, though sending two Knights for the Shire, can find no Citizens or Burgesses to attend on account of their "poverty and weakness," aggravated by the pestilence then [4]prevalent in the North.

[1] I had consulted the original writs for this Parliament in the Public Record Office and made full extracts of the names of members, intending to print them as an appendix to this volume. This is now fortunately unnecessary, as the names may be seen in the two fol. vols. recently issued (1879) as Blue Books, by authority of Parliament. [2] Cf. the old rhyme:

"A knight of Cales, a gentleman of Wales,
And a laird of the north conntree;
A yeoman of Kent, with his yearly rent,
Will buy them out all three."

Quoted in DANIEL, TRINARCHORDIA, iv, 252.

[3] Viz.: Chichester, Arundel, Lewes, Grinstead, Midhurst, Horsham, Shoreham, Steyning, and Seaford, besides Hastings and Winchelsea, which sent each two members as Cinque Ports. [4] ROT. PARL., iii, 434.

On the assembling of Parliament, the names of those summoned were called over and their presence verified. The Chancellor, or some one appointed by him, would preach some exhortation founded upon a passage of Scripture inculcating obedience, and referring to contemporary events. These harangues are frequently reported at length on the Rolls. Then the King, accompanied by the principal members of his Council, (*i.e.*, the five Chief Officers of State, the Judges and Barons of the Exchequer, with the Sergeants-at-law), took his seat and addressed the assemblage, explaining for what purposes they had met, and promising to keep unimpaired their liberties and privileges. Each section then deliberated apart, and the discussions were continued from day to day, [1]the meetings beginning at eight o'clock in the morning at latest.

The Lower Clergy being detached as a separate order to vote with the clerical body in Convocation, the Commons (*i.e.*, the Knights of Shires, Citizens and Burgesses) were accustomed to meet as one body in the [2]Chapter House or the Refectory at Westminster, where they deliberated together, and afterwards sent up one of their number as their Speaker or Proctor to announce their answers or present petitions in their name to the King. When the Parliament had met before the coronation they had been ordered to elect their Speaker or Parlour. They had chosen one of their number, Sir John [3]Cheyne, one of the Knights for the county of Gloucester, a soldier and a married man, who had been ordained deacon when younger, but had [4]renounced his orders without the necessary dispensation, and had adopted Lollard opinions, hostile to the Church. [5]In

[1] A oept del clocke, a pluis tarde.—ROT. PARL., iii, 522. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 523, 329. [3] Pronounced as a dis-syllable, and sometimes spelt Cheynee (ROY. LET., 306); or Cheyny (ROY. LET., 312); or Cheyney (ROY. LET., 224). [4] WALS., ii, 266. "And withoute dispensasioune aspired to the order of wedlak, and eke the degree of knythod."—CAPGR., 287. [5] TRAIS., 136.

the troubles of 1397 he had been arrested, together with Sir John Cobham, as concerned in the conspiracy of the Duke of Gloucester. By the Clergy he was reviled as a renegade, and the Convocation had been specially warned of the danger threatened to their Order by his election as Speaker of the Commons.

On the day following the coronation (Tuesday, October 14th), the new Speaker presented himself before the King, making the customary protestation that if he should err in anything that he said, his companions, the Commons, might not be held responsible for his ignorance or neglect, but that they might themselves correct anything which he might say to which they had not really given their consent. The King accepted the choice, but on the following day (Wednesday, October 15th), Sir John came again before him, and requested, in the name of the Commons, that he might be excused from the duties on the plea of illness, the Commons requesting that John Doreward, a [1]wealthy esquire and landowner of Essex, and one of the Knights of the Shire for that county, might be their Speaker in his stead. This alteration the King agreed to, and it is not improbable that the change was brought about through the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for it is certain that Cheyne was not permanently disabled, [2]but was frequently employed afterwards in public duties which would

[1] MORANT, ii, 383. PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 8 (November 10, 1399), grants to him £35 p.a. from revenues of Colchester. [2] In February following he is said to have gone as one of an embassy to Rome.—ANN., 320, ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 111. But this is proved to be a mistake, by reference to PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., PASC. (May 20th) where payment of £33 6s. 8d. is made to "William Cheyne, Esquire," sent on a secret embassy to Rome. On the 22nd of February, 1400, John Cheyne was present in person in the Exchequer (CLAUS. 1 H. IV., i, 16.) He likewise served on various commissions of enquiry in the same year (*e.g.*, PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 26), and received numerous grants and other favours from the King. On April 15th, 1402, he was sent to Germany to attend the Princess Blanche.—RYM., viii, 243. He was also constantly employed as a negociator with France.

try his strength quite as much as this. But the Archbishop had just denounced him before his Clergy, at St. Paul's. [1]The Commons accordingly withdrew their obnoxious nominee; the Clergy were warned of the necessity of reforming some of the most assailable of their weaknesses, and for the present an awkward contest was postponed. But the incident is typical of the many smouldering discords which were waiting their time, though patched up for the moment under the form of a necessary compromise.

The Commons then voted the usual subsidy. The revenue for carrying on the Government of the country was to a certain limited extent derived partly from customs on exported and imported articles, and partly from direct taxation. Over both sources the Parliament had long exercised a jealous control. England was then a grazing country. [2]A Greek writer, from Constantinople, describing the country a short time after, specifies its chief products as corn and honey, but especially cloth and wool. The population was small and the production abundant, and though the [3]exports included salt, lead, tin, yarn, cloth, hides, honey, fish, and farm produce, yet the bulk of the stuff exported consisted of sheep-skins and wool, which were in great demand and found a ready sale with the Lombard, Genoese and Catalan traders. Wool was "the [4]sovereign merchandize and jewel of the realm." The value of it fluctuated of course, but apparently within very narrow limits, and we shall not be so far out if we calculate the average value of the sack of wool at that time at from £5 to £6 in the home markets, [5]each sack weighing twenty-six stone of fourteen pounds to the stone. From very early times the King had claimed as his

[1] Conc., iii, 242. [2] Chalcocondyles, ii, 48. [3] Laynes, Peux lanuz, Quirr, Plumbe, Estein, Bure, Furmage, Mel, Felparie, Sceu, Worstedes, Draps, Harangsore.—Rot. Parl., iii, 500. [4] Stat. of Staple. [5] 240 skins, or wool-fells, with the wool on, were rated as equal to one sack.—Rot. Parl., iii, 546.

custom, or customary due, a payment of 6s. 8d. (half a mark) upon every sack of wool exported, and this claim was never disputed. But when money was urgently needed for the French wars, the advisers of Edward III. had hit upon the following ingenious device for raising money upon the export of wool, whereby large additions were made to the royal revenue, and nobody seemed to be the sufferer, except the consumers abroad, whose interests might be left to take care of themselves. A fair average price was fixed for the wool, according to the current price for each county. It was then purchased by the King's officers and sold to the wool merchants for exportation, the merchant paying less per sack than the fixed price for the wool, but undertaking to pay a far larger custom to the King when the goods were exported. For instance, if the fixed price for Yorkshire wool were £6 per sack, the King's officers purchased the wool at that rate and the farmer was no loser. The merchants could then buy the wool at £5 per sack, but they undertook to pay £2 on each sack at exportation, in addition to the old customary half-mark (6s. 8d.), whereby the revenue gained at least twenty shillings on each sack, while the merchant could still make his profit (so it was supposed) by raising the price of wool to his customers abroad. By this singular device the King was able to raise money readily for his immediate necessities; the people did not feel any additional increase of taxation, and it was thought that the foreign consumers alone were the losers. In a very short time many restrictions and regulations, which were rendered necessary by this clever financing, were petitioned against (principally by the merchants) and were in due course removed; but the arrangement was never in itself unpopular. Frequent complaints were made, but they are directed not against the increased duty, but against illegal extortion on the part of the "farmers of the customs," *i.e.*, companies of bankers who

occasionally, and with the special consent of the Council, paid a sum of money down to the King, and made the duty as remunerative to themselves as they could. But from 1340 (the date at which the bargain was introduced) the Parliaments regularly voted the increased duty, taking care, however, to distinguish the original half-mark, which they called the "ancient custom," from the additional sum (rarely less than forty shillings) which they describe as a "subsidy of wools." This they granted always for a limited term, varying from one to five years, indicating always that the "subsidy" is granted to provide for some special emergency. But when once imposed the yield of the golden fleece was not easily reduced, and it reached its highest point in 1397, when, in [1]addition to £5 (or £6) on every last of leather exported, the Parliament [2]granted to Richard II. the "subsidy" for his life-time at the rate of fifty shillings per sack of wool (including the original half-mark), to be paid by English exporters, and sixty shillings per sack to be paid by resident foreign merchants, who always paid an additional premium for the privilege of trading under English protection.

Besides this, a duty called the [3]"small custom" (amounting to about threepence in the £, or 1¼ per cent.) was levied on all other articles imported or exported. Thus in the port of [4]Boston, during the months of October and November, 1400, fourteen vessels arrived with various cargoes, comprising olive oil, onions, garlic, fish, copper, ermine, linen thread and fustian, the value of which was £3923. Upon these the "small custom" amounted to £48 7s. A roll of customs for the

[1] See CUSTOMS ROLL, Hull. [2] Adam of Usk, who was present in this Parliament, says (p. 18) five marks per sack of wool, *i.e.*, 60s. (subsidy) + 6s. 8d. (custom). [3] In January, 1401, the Parliament raised the duty to 2s. on every tun of wine, and 8d. in the £ on all goods (other than wool) entering or leaving the country.—ROT. PARL., iii, 455 *b*. In 1403, the loss from smuggling is estimated at from £3000 to £4000 per annum.—ROT. PARL., iii, 506. [4] MISCELLANEA QUEEN'S REMEMBRANCER.

port of Bristol for the year ending September 29th, 1400, shows a total yield of £207 6s. 2d. for the year. Thirty-eight ships cleared from the port carrying cloth to Ireland, Gascony, Brittany, and Spain. Two only are recorded as bringing imports (viz.: [1]iron, linen, and wine), liable to the smaller custom, the yield being only £1 os. 3d. It was probably exceptionally low in Bristol owing to insecurity on the Welsh frontier, and [2]disaffection among the population.

It would be possible to calculate approximately the total amount of the customs raised in any particular year by consulting the returns of the collectors at the several ports, so far as they are preserved; but this task I must leave to others who have better means than I have of consulting the original rolls in the Public Record Office.

[3]In 1404 it was estimated that the customs exceeded in value the whole of the revenues from crown lands *(proventus coronæ)*, including those of the Duchy of Lancaster, but this unfortunately gives us no sure clue as to the actual amount.

The return, just quoted, from the port of Boston, for two months (viz., from September 29th to November 27th, 1400) shows payments upon 938 sacks of wool exported (at 5os.), = £2,345, and upon 1,585 skins, = £17, while during the same time the dues on imported articles amounted to £48 7s., showing a total yield of £2,410 7s. for two months from one port on the eastern coast alone.

Returns entered on the Customs Roll show that the coast was mapped out into districts, each with a central port. On the east coast there were seven such districts, the chief ports being Newcastle, Hull, Boston, Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich, and London. The returns from Newcastle, including the coast from

[1] On eight tons of iron (value = £30) the small custom = 7s. 6d.
[2] ROT. PARL., iii, 457. [4] EUL., iii, 399.

Berwick to Scarborough, are missing since the beginning of the reign of Richard II., but the total yield from the other six in the year ending September 29th, 1400, including the smal customs, [1]amounts to £35,667 10s. If to these we add the amounts received at Southampton and Bristol, the two most important ports in the south and west, we arrive at a total of £41,383 0s. 9d. So that we shall not be far wrong in estimating the yield from the customs for the whole country at the beginning of Henry the Fourth's reign at somewhere about £50,000 per annum.

The subsidy was now voted to Henry IV for three years, for the wars in Scotland, [2]the protection of Calais, and the necessities of Ireland, though the country was practically in profound peace. The King, however, began by assuming that the grant would be continued without opposition during his life-time, and was proceeding to deal with it on this assumption; but the Parliament

[1] The figures are extracted from a thick roll called the Customs Roll, which includes returns from 40 Ed. III. to 7 H. IV., arranged under the several ports. The return includes the total amount received from the subsidy at 50s. per sack, and from the "small customs," thus:—Year from 29th September, 1399, to 29th September, 1400.

	£	s.	d.
Hull (to Grimsby, Barton, and Hornsea)	7179	1	2
Boston (from Grimsby to Wisbeach)	7891	5	0
Lynn (from Wisbeach to Blakeney)	4272	2	0
Yarmouth (from Blakeney to Ipswich)	160	19	0
Ipswich	1212	7	0
London (to Tilbury and Gravesend)	14951	15	10
	35667	10	0
Southampton (and coast from Portsmouth to Poole)	5508	8	5
Bristol (and all ports up and down Severn to Bridgewater, Newnham, and Chepstow)	207	2	4
	£41,383	0	9

Ships are usually referred to in these lists by their names, of which the following are samples:—La Trinite, La Gracedieu, Le Nicholas, Le Holygost, La Anne, La Marie, Le Aleson, &c.

[2] 13s. 4d. per sack was assigned to pay the garrison at Calais from customs at five ports, which yielded the following sums, viz.: Hull, £1825 0s. 9d.; London, £3840; Boston, £2047 6s. 8d.; Southampton, £1066 2s. 10d.; Lynn, £1135 15s.

took an early opportunity to [1]protest (February, 1401) that the grant was only for a limited time, and for a special purpose; and Henry had the wisdom to submit to the reproof.

It was represented in this Parliament that great loss was occasioned to the revenue, by irregularities in the collecting, that as much as 10,000 marks (about £7,000) had been lost to the country from this cause alone. The loss was attributed chiefly to the appointment of incompetent persons as customers or controllers who did not reside at their posts, but employed others to collect for them. Henry granted an enquiry [2]insisting especially that those responsible for the customs should reside at the port to which they were appointed. The enquiry was to extend to the accounts of Sheriffs and Escheators, to prevent falsification or concealment; and grants which had been made to collectors under false pretences were to be cancelled. The evil, however, was not easily remedied, for after three years the [3]enactment was repeated with increased stringency, and a penalty of £100 was imposed for every infringement.

Another source of income had gradually been introduced, and had now become a permanent charge on the country. As far back as the reign of Edward I., a special tax or tallage had been granted for special emergencies, calculated upon the value of possessions other than land. Commissions were issued to two taxers in each county, who should appoint others in each borough, or city, or hundred, to act under them, and be responsible to them; and before these all the inhabitants of the district were to appear and make a declaration, on oath, of the value of their possessions, *e.g.*, horses, pigs, cattle, hay, corn, leather, implements of trade, dresses, ornaments, kitchen utensils, —everything moveable that they possessed—and a proportion of the total value was levied by the Sheriff for the King. None

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 457. [2] STAT., 1 H. IV., c. 13. [3] STAT., 4 H. IV., c. 20.

paid whose moveable possessions amounted to less than 5s., which was about the [1]value of one cow.

The inhabitants of boroughs and cities always paid more than those who lived in the country. Thus, if the counties paid one-twentieth, the cities paid one-fifteenth; if the counties paid one-fifteenth, the cities paid one-tenth. This last proportion had been the sum usually granted. It had been granted to Edward III. to support the expense of his French wars, and had been continued to Richard II. by successive Parliaments, until 1397, when the Parliament granted one-fifteenth (or 6⅔ per cent.) on moveables in counties, and one-tenth (or ten per cent,) in cities, to be levied annually during the King's life, adding an additional sum of half as much again, which was to be regarded as a loan. So much of the grant of one-tenth and one-fifteenth as had yet to be levied was now confirmed, but the additional bonus or loan which had just fallen due (September 29th, 1399) was to be remitted, or refunded if already paid in. And it was declared that the tax should not be made a precedent, and that the nation should not be called upon to pay for wars except by the consent of Parliament.

Besides these sources of income, the King could claim, as his undoubted due, two tuns or casks of wine from every ship entering any port to land a cargo of wine exceeding thirty tuns. [2]This was called the "prise of wine," and was not subject to any control from Parliament.

It must not be supposed that these were the only sources of revenue to the crown. The bulk of the revenue arose from charges on land, and this was returned each year through the Sheriff in each county without any responsibility to Parliament.

[1] For lists of prices see Bishop Fleetwood's CHRONICUM PRECIOSUM; also Godwin's LIFE OF CHAUCER, ii, 329, 338; RETROSPECTIVE REVIEW, ix, 189-190. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 476 *a*; 446 *b*.

[1]The Cities and Boroughs also paid various sums annually for charters and privileges granted at various times in previous reigns. Lands forfeited for treason, or escheats, *i.e.* entailed estates falling to the crown for default of heirs, were re-granted or re-let to others subject to annual charges paid to the crown. The total amount realized in a particular year from all or each of these sources might be calculated from a perusal of the [2]Great Pipe Rolls of the counties. But the task would be a very complicated one, for though exact accounts were rendered to the Exchequer each term by Sheriffs and Collectors, of the amount that had been received, and the way in which it had been disbursed, yet very little money actually passed, as each account was usually charged with outgoing expenses for salaries, pensions, gratuities, &c., specially assigned to be payable out of it; and the Sheriff or Collector was usually required to have a considerable sum credited to him as a deposit in the Exchequer, which was his guarantee against deficit or arrears.

For all practical purposes, however, a good working estimate may be formed as to the annual Receipts and Expenses of the

[1] *e.g.*, Lincoln, £180. — ROT. PARL., iii, 503; Cambridge, £101 (iii, 515); Ipswich, £66 (iii, 514); Dunwich, £14 10s. 9d. (iii, 514).

[2] A specimen abstract for one county (Sussex) will suffice as a sample of the Sheriff's Statement of Receipts, (see PIPE ROLL, 1 H. IV.)

	£	s.	d.
For lands of Earl of Arundel, Abbey of Fécamp.....	234	16	9
Sundry small fines	5	7	6
From Thos. Tutbury for Bramber aud Knapp during minority of son of the late Duke of Norfolk.....	309	8	1
Sundries, including for lands, during minority of heir of Lord Thos. dc Spenser	72	15	6
From Sheriff, sundries, including farm of county.....	96	0	5
From Kingston	58	8	6
From Guildford	10	0	0
Prior of Lewes (alien)	4	11	5
Sundries	0	12	1
Southwark	10	0	0
Priory of Leominster (alien)	20	0	0
Sundries	1073	15	3
	£1895	15	6

Public Exchequer by consulting the Pells Rolls, many of which are still to be seen in excellent preservation in the Public Record Office. Each Roll contains a statement of the Receipts and Expenses of the King's Exchequer, arranged under dates and amounts with the utmost minuteness of detail, the whole being duly totalled at the end of each half-year. In the Receipt Rolls are entered the sums received from loans, customs, subsidies; from ulnage, tonnage, and poundage; from tenths and fifteenths (both lay and clerical); from Sheriff's accounts, farms, fines, forfeitures, and hanaper fees. In the Issue Rolls are payments for fleets, armies, garrisons, embassies, pensions, and household expenses. We have payments to the King's Tooth-drawer, Barber, Apotecar, Artillerar, to the Keeper of his Lions and Leopards, his Sumpterman, his Silkwoman, his Hauberger, his Stuffer of Arms, to the Janitor of the Council-room, and the Keeper of the Great Clock. Nothing is too minute for record, and the items range from thousands of pounds for the defence of Berwick or Calais down to 1s. 8d. to "a certain woman," or 8d. [1]"to divers porters," for bringing Edmund Mortimer's jewels and silver vessels from the Thames to the Palace at Westminster. From a comparison of these Rolls it appears that when Henry ascended the throne on the 29th September, 1399, there was a respectable balance in the Exchequer amounting to £1,333 6s. 8d.; that the total income during the first year of his reign was £109,249 16s. 2½d., and that the total expenditure for the same period reached £109,006 11s. 8½d., leaving a balance on the right side at the year's end of £243 4s. 6d.

With proper economy, and judicious expenditure, it ought to have been possible for the King to govern without putting himself in the power of his Parliament; but this could only be by avoiding entanglements in foreign wars, the burdens of which

1 PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 4 H. IV., MICH. (October 19th, 1402).

could not be borne by the ordinary revenue of the country. But misgovernment and extravagance had marked the close of Richard's reign. He had discovered a device for continuing his extortions and dispensing with his Parliament, and this had led him to his ruin.

Two years had passed since his last Parliament was called. It had met at Westminster in September, 1397, in a building specially erected in the Palace yard, and surrounded by 4,000 of the King's archers, who more than once stood with bows drawn and arrows to their ears [1] "to the great terror of all there present," as reported by an eye-witness. It sat for ten days, during which time it had sanctioned the arrest of the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel, and the banishment of the Archbishop of Canterbury, for their share in acts committed eleven years before, although special indemnities had been since granted to each and all of them. The Earl of Warwick was exiled and his estates forfeited, and it was declared to be treason to attempt to repeal any of the judgments, ordinances, and statutes then made. The Parliament was then adjourned till after Christmas, and met again in the end of January, 1398, at Shrewsbury, in the neighbourhood of the newly-created Principality of Chester, where the royal influence was strong, and far removed from any danger of London rioters or mobs. At Shrewsbury the Parliament sat for four days, doing an infinite amount of hasty and precipitate mischief. The whole of the Acts of the Parliament of 1387-8 were annulled. Several previous forfeitures and attainders were reversed in favour of the King's friends. The heavy subsidy of wools and the tax on moveables, far in excess of any previous grant in any previous reign, were granted to the King *for life*, and the oath already taken at Westminster was exacted again under the sanctions of the Church. Finally, a Commission of twelve Lords and six

[1] USK, 11, "ad magnum metum omnium."

Knights of the Shire was entrusted with full powers to "examine, answer, and finally deal with all matters moved in presence of the King," which, "from the shortness of the time," could not be dealt with then. The Parliament was then dismissed, and the new experiment produced its natural fruit in the disasters of 1399.

The first step of Henry's present Parliament was to [1]annul the whole of the measures of the Parliament of 1397-8 (21 R. II.) with all Acts springing from them by virtue of the powers granted to the Commission of Eighteen. But inasmuch as some harmless or useful Acts were then passed, together with others now declared to be "erroneously and dolourously" ordained, the Commons were to deliberate and petition that any statutes then passed, which in their opinion were necessary and profitable for the common good, might be retained or renewed in spite of the wholesale condemnation of the authority by which they had been passed. It was then enacted that the [2]estates and honours forfeited (in 1397) by the Earls of Arundel and [3]Warwick, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord John Cobham, and others implicated in similar charges, should be entirely restored to them and their heirs; but though the Commons petitioned that restitution might be made to them for their losses in the interval, [4]the King would not entertain the petition, and wisely refused to open a road to irritating and vexatious reprisals. A special exception was made in the case of the Archbishop, who was allowed to recover from his predecessor for damage, waste, and destruction during his tenure. On the other hand, a [5]grant amounting to 500 marks

[1] EVES., 163. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 28 (November 28th, 1399). This could be the more easily done, as the principal recipients had been the Earl of Wiltshire, who had been executed at Bristol, and the Duke of Surrey, and the Earl of Gloucester, both of whom were now in prison and disgraced.—EVES., 162; OTT., 210. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 14 (February 6th, 1400). [4] ROT. PARL., iii, 427. [5] Dated December 13th, 1399.—PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 27.

per annum was made to the Earl of Worcester in lieu of the estates which he was now required to restore.

A general indemnity was then declared for all acts committed in the course of the rebellion, from the day when Henry landed in Yorkshire to the day of his coronation. Certain charters which had been exacted through intimidation from many citizens of London, and inhabitants of seventeen counties, were declared to be void, as having been sealed under compulsion. Those persons who had signed them had been made to appear to confess themselves guilty of treason and other offences, in order that the King might grant his pardon in consideration of the payment of a sum of money.

These curious fictions were nicknamed "Raggeman's Rolls," [1] "Blaunkchatres" or more euphemistically [2] "Le Pleasaunce." [3] An order was issued for their destruction, and they were afterwards collected from all parts of the country, [4] carried to London on the points of spears, and [5] publicly burnt (February 6th, 1400) "at the Standard in Cheape."

One notable citizen, [6] Richard Whityngton, mercer, of London, had lent 1000 marks to Richard, but he was influential enough to secure repayment in three annual instalments.

Then, inasmuch as Henry's father and uncle, and many of his present supporters, had been members of the Commission of Eighteen, he was requested to declare emphatically his own opinion of the legality of its proceedings. He delighted his people by asserting that he regarded the appointment of the Commission, and all its acts, as derogatory to all the estates of his realm, and declared it to be his wish that such an expedient

[1] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 12. [2] OTT., TRAIS., xxxix; CHRON. LOND., 83; though "ragman" is certainly an older legal title.—See "De quo warranto et Rageman." 15 Ed. I. in Coventry. — MONASTICON, iii, 195. [3] Dated November 30th, 1399.—RYM., viii, 109. [4] USK, 42. [5] "Brende openli."—CHRON., R. II.—H. VI.—STOW, 325; from FIFTEENTH CENTURY CHRON. 52. "Sed de scriptura patuit non una figura."—GOWER, in POL SONGS, i, 440. [6] PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 9 (May 24th, 1400).

should never again be tried. The mischievous and useless precedent first introduced in the late reign of requiring an oath from the members that they would never annul the Acts passed in any Parliament, under penalty of treason, was now distinctly condemned; so [1]that all the King's loyal lieges might ever be free to make known and discuss their grievances as right and reason demand.

Finally, of his own accord, the King declared that no act should be considered as Treason except those specified in the great Statute of 1351 (25 Ed. III.), and that the additional acts declared to be treasonable in 1397, viz.: to compass the deposition of a King, or to give back homage to him, should not be considered as treasonable, because not included in the older Statute. At this declaration the Lords and Commons were "very greatly rejoiced, and most humbly thanked him."

The same day (Wednesday, October 15th), the Archbishop informed the Houses that the King purposed to create his eldest son, Henry, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, and requested them to declare him heir to the throne in the event of his father's death. This being done, the young Prince was solemnly [2]invested with his new titles, being attended and supported throughout by the King's uncle, Edmund, Duke of York. The customary lands and honours were attached, together with the royal castles of Wallingford and Berkhampstead, and estates in almost every county in England, together with all revenues and [3]arrears, and the [4]custody and wardship of all minors in Wales, Cornwall, and Cheshire.

By making his son Earl of Chester, Henry secured his own influence and authority in the most turbulent and lawless corner of England. Cheshire was denounced by its neighbours

[1] Rot. Parl., iii, 442 *a*. [2] November 8th, 1399.—Rym., viii, 148. [3] Pat., 1 H. IV., 2, 21 (November 8th, 1399). [4] Pat., 1 H. IV., 3, 8 (November 13th, 1399).

as a [1] "den of robbers," from which murderers and cut-throats issued for nightly raids upon the persons and cattle of their peaceful neighbours, claiming the immunities of a County Palatine to defy the King's officers of justice, and responsible by law to none but their own Earl. A few days later the young Prince assumed the further titles of Duke of Aquitaine and Duke of Lancaster, lately held by his grandfather, John of Ghent, it being declared the special privilege of the Duchy of Lancaster that it should remain independent of the Crown, though thus conveniently united with the royal house.

The youngest Prince, Humphrey, also received a nice little provision of lands in [2] Kent and on the Upper Thames, while his brother [3] John was not forgotten in the general distribution.

Since his abdication, Richard had been kept a close prisoner in the Tower under the custody of Sir Thomas [4] Rempston [5] the constable, one of Henry's devoted followers, who had lately crossed with him from Brittany. In the midst of the rejoicings at the installation of the new King, and the inauguration of the new policy, there were as yet no signs of reaction in his favour, but his presence in the capital was a source of danger, and arrangements were speedily made for his removal. On Tuesday, October 21st, the Commons prayed that Richard might be produced and called upon to answer publicly for the crimes laid to his charge. Had this been done, it is likely that his trial might have been short and summary, for the [6] Londoners, some two months before, when they heard that he was a prisoner, had sent a message to Henry, in Coventry, to behead him at once. But the King postponed

[1] Spelunca latronum. — ROT. PARL., iii, 440 *b*; see also USK, 136. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 17. *Ibid*, 8, 1 (December 2nd, 1399). [3] On February 22nd, 1400, he received a further grant of £60 per annum from forfeited estates of Thomas Lord de Spenser. [4] EVES., 151; TRAIS., 289; ROT. PARL., iii, 553. [5] See his appointment, dated October 7th, 1399, in PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 3. [6] TRAIS., 212.

his answer till the prelates should be present. A week later, a special sitting of the lords spiritual and temporal was held, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury charged them on their allegiance to maintain absolute secrecy. The Earl of Northumberland then asked them their advice as to what should be done with the person of the late King Richard. The King would have nothing done against his life, but for the security of the country it was necessary that he should be kept a prisoner. The lords answered that he should be removed to some safe place where there was no chance of rescue by a mob of people; that he should be there kept in custody; and that none should have access to him who had ever been members of his household. Fifty-eight lords, spiritual and temporal, agreed by name to this decision. There was no attempt at trial, and no publicity; and in the official report there is no indication of any difference of opinion being expressed.

On the following day (Monday, October 27th), the King met the assembled Parliament in the Great Hall at Westminster, and informed them that, with the assent of the lords, Richard, late King of England, had been condemned to secret imprisonment for life; that he should be guarded by attendants who were personally unknown to him, in some secret place to be decided upon by the Council; and that he should neither send nor receive letters of any kind. An enquiry was to be held as to his personal property, that none might be [1]stolen or hidden away, special Commissioners being appointed for Hampshire to enquire as to his belongings in [2]Porchester. The [3]Commons gave their assent. At midnight, October 28th, Richard was secretly transferred from the Tower. [4]Disguised as a forester, with a hunting spear, and a horn round his neck, he was conducted by men of Kent to Gravesend, and thence to the Castle of

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 439 *b*. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 2 in tergo (dated December 13th, 1399). [3] ANN., 313. [4] TRAIS., 75; CRET., 24, 215.

Ledes, whence he was soon afterwards removed and imprisoned —none knew where.

In this Parliament a statute was passed which is an interesting evidence of the silent change that had long been creeping over the customs and character of the country. For a century past, complaints had been continually made that lingering traces of feudal tradition were proving too powerful for the statute law of the country. A needy rogue might lay claim to a manor or farm. The action might be wholly fictitious, but the claimant could enter into an arrangement with some powerful lord, by declaring himself his vassal, and in collusion with him the lord undertook to "maintain," the suit, and the poorer occupant was powerless against the combination. This legal robbery took various forms, till [1]"maintenance" in the old statutes becomes the technical equivalent for roguery. [2]The evil spread in the unsettled reign of Richard, and a new development of the feudal tie was springing up. Many lords were encouraging the formation of troops of men, nominally their vassals, but really banded together for mutual assistance in lawlessness and violence. They wore some livery, frequently a mere badge or sign stuck in the hat, which they received from the lord, and thereby declared themselves of his "company." [3]Companies of outlaws and reckless adventurers [4](even priests amongst them, so that Friar Tuck is not altogether an invention of romance), roamed from county to county defying justice, and lying in wait in the woods for the

[1] "Maintenance" has been quite recently defined as "a factitious interference in a suit with which the person so interfering has no personal interest."—Lord Chief Justice COLERIDGE in Bradlaugh *v.* Newdegate, April 24th, 1883.

> They constrewed qarellis to quenche the peple,
> And pletid with pollaxis and poyntis of swerdis,
> And at the dome-gevinge drowe out the bladis,
> And lente men levere of their long battis

Of the Cheshire men in the courts of law.—In RICHARD THE REDELESS, iii, 317.—Cf. USK, 130.

[3] ROT. PARL., iii, 445 *b*. [4] Clerici ac etiam presbyteri.—CONC., iii, 244.

lives of those whose lands were threatened; so that they could not till their lands, or attend their parish churches, or go about any business, unless accompanied by armed followers. [1]Their houses were burnt, their servants and tenants beaten and robbed. Riotous bands attended at fairs and markets, or plundered peaceful travellers on the high roads. Various partial measures were passed to counteract the evil, and to confine the feudal tie strictly to its original limit, between bonâ-fide lord and vassal, as owners and occupants of land, bound to each other for life in peace or war; but these measures all proved ineffectual, and [2]tailors, drapers, souters, tanners, pisceners (or pessoners, *i.e.* fishmongers), butchers, and artificers, wore liveries or badges for maintenance; while powerful subjects, such as the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Northumberland, were followed to Parliament and Council by bands of armed followers, at the risk of violent collisions.

Henry's first Parliament now passed a sweeping Act, forbidding, for the future, any subject, of whatever rank, to use or give any livery or badge of company within the realm. The King alone would, in future, have the right to grant his honourable livery to whom he chose; but those who were so favoured were not to wear it except in his presence, unless abroad or on the border or the marches in time of war. [3]The statute was to take effect from the Feast of the Purification in the following year (*i.e.* February 2nd, 1400), and was not to apply to the livery of the menials or others living in the households of the great lords. [4]Any Knight or Esquire who should thereafter give a livery, would forfeit his lands for ever;

[1] See a case in Northumberland.—RYM., viii, 100; also POL. SONGS, i, 381. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 307, *a.* (1392). The livery companies of London were probably incorporated about this time (HERBERT, i, 103). [3] EVES., 164. On January 6th and 10th, the Earls of Kent and Huntingdon still head "companies,"—aggregatis sibi qnampluribus malefactoribus.—RYM., viii, 120. [4] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 19 in tergo.

and any Yeoman or Valet receiving a livery, would be liable to be imprisoned and fined at the King's pleasure.

On the same day a noteworthy step was taken, probably at the instigation of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, during his exile, had visited Rome, and secured the friendship of the Pope. A Papal Collector (Louis, Bishop of Volterra) was already in the country, and was officially consulted by the Convocation (October 11th) in reference to grievances of the Clergy. He recommended that Henry should write direct to the Pope. It was now declared in the Parliament that the King, with the assent and advice of such wise and worthy persons as he should be able to call, might occasionally modify or annul the terms of the Statute against Provisors, the great bulwark against Papal encroachment. This permission was at once acted upon in filling the See of Carlisle, vacant by the deposition of Thomas Merks, an adherent of the dethroned King. William Strickland had been elected some years previously by the Chapter, but the Pope had set aside their choice, and had appointed Merks. The Pope now consented to recognise Strickland, and provided by bull for his appointment. The [1] King, on his side, recognised the Pope's right to "provide," and granted the temporalities to Strickland, but first required that the new Bishop should submit to his pleasure, and expressly renounce any words contained in the Pope's bull which were prejudicial to him or to his crown. [2] The Collector shortly afterwards (December 16th) left England with valuable presents for the Cardinals, and in accordance with his advice an [3] embassy consisting of the Bishop of Hereford and others, started in the following February, with friendly letters for the Roman Court. [4] In the following year (March, 1401), the Commons, while agreeing to modify the

[1] RYM., viii, 106. See another example, dated November 25th, 1399, in RYM., viii, 107. [2] RYM., viii, 117. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 111. [4] ROT. PARL., iii, 458.

statute, express the hope that the King will not allow foreigners (Cardinals or others) to benefit by the concession.

The principal offenders against whom the Liveries Act was directed were the Dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the Marquis of Dorset, and the Earl of Gloucester, all of them supporters of the late King so long as it was possible to make a stand, though since his fall they had made haste to make their peace with Henry. All of them had joined in appealing the Earls of Arundel and Warwick of treason; all had been members of the Commission which misgoverned the country in the name of Parliament, and by the confession of one Hall—a servant of the late Duke of Norfolk, the Governor of Calais, where the Duke of Gloucester had been imprisoned—the Duke of Albemarle, at least, was deeply implicated in the murder.

On the third day after the opening of Parliament (Thursday, October 16th), the Commons petitioned the King that *all* the evil counsellors of Richard should be arrested. Sir William Bagot, a prominent member of the late Commission, and one of the most unpopular men in the country, who had escaped death when his colleagues were hanged at Bristol, but had afterwards been captured and imprisoned, was now called upon (October 16th) to answer for his misdeeds. He excused himself, and in his turn accused the Duke of Albemarle. The Duke replied by challenging Bagot to prove his words. An angry discussion arose. The appearance of Albemarle was the signal for a violent outbreak. In asserting his innocence, he concluded with the usual declaration that he was ready to prove it against all comers. Hereupon the young Lord Fitzwalter threw down his gage, charging the Duke outright with the murder of the Duke of Gloucester. [1] The Duke took up the challenge, which was at once supplemented by others from Lord Morley, Lord Beauchamp, and many more.

[1] EVES., 162.

As many as forty gages were thrown down against him, and amid immense uproar the King was compelled to interfere.

On the following day (Friday, October 17th) the Council, chiefly through the influence of Sir John Cobham, decided unanimously that the late advisers of Richard should be put under arrest. The principal amongst them were then seized [1](October 20th) and lodged in separate prisons. The Duke of Surrey was at first committed to the Tower, but on October 23rd he was transferred to Wallingford. The Duke of Exeter was imprisoned in the Castle at Hertford; the Duke of Albemarle at Windsor; and the Earls of Gloucester and Salisbury in the Tower of London. Here they were privately examined and called upon to clear themselves for their share in recent events.

They each and all denied that they had been willing agents, and excused themselves as best they might. The King now felt himself strong enough to proceed against them. The informer Hall was at once executed with savage and disgusting cruelty. He was drawn by horses from Tower Hill to Tyburn. There his body was ripped open, and while he was yet alive his bowels were drawn out and burnt in his sight. [2]His head was afterwards cut off, and his body severed limb from limb.

On Wednesday, October 29th, at the urgent demand of the Commons, the accused Lords were brought up to answer the charges brought against them. This time the [3]Bishop of Carlisle was arraigned with them, and put on his defence.

Much minute controversy has been carried on amongst historical inquirers as to the character and position of this Bishop. He has found as warm partisans as though he

[1]CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 24 (October 20th, 1399). [2]TRAIS., 224; ROT. PARL., iii, 453, called "judicium tractionis, exenterationis, internorum combustionis, suspensionis, decapitationis et quarterizationis."—ANN., 311. [3]CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 24 (October 28th).

were a person of prime consequence. [1]Those who considered that Henry's usurpation was an impious invasion of a Divine Right applaud the Bishop as the one honest adherent of the martyred Richard, "amidst the faithless, faithful only found;" while others have discovered that he was at best a man of dissolute life—a time-server like the rest of his generation—and that the noble speech which Shakespeare found ready to his hand, and has used with such dramatic effect, was not, and could not by any possibility ever have been, uttered.

From the best contemporary evidence that I can find, his history seems to have been briefly this. [2]Thomas Sumestre, of Newmarket *(de novo mercatu)*, called commonly Thomas [3]Merks, was a Benedictine monk, of [4]Westminster, who had been made Bishop of Carlisle in 1397 by Papal Provision, in spite of the law and in direct opposition to the wishes of the Chapter, who claimed that the right of election rested with them. He was an intimate friend and companion of King Richard, with whom he is said to have often passed whole nights in feasting and excess. He went with Richard to Ireland, and was certainly one of the few who refused to desert him, and who were with him at the time of his capture at Flint, in August, 1399. [5]He was present in the Parliament which met at Westminster on September 30th, where he sat next to Henry, and, like the rest, raised no objection either to the deposition of Richard or to Henry's claim to succeed him. While the storm against

[1] "In which Parliament, or rather unlawful assembly, there appeared but one honest man, to wit, the Bishop of Carlisle, who scorned his life and estate in respect of right and his allegiance."—RALEIGH. PREROG. OF PARLIAMENT, 45.

> "Faithfull Achates, if the glorious
> Names who have honoured virtue and pursued it,
> Ennoble memory, let my verse be
> One sprig to keep alive thy memory."—GEO. DANIEL, iv, 4.
> [Written soon after execution of Charles I.]

[2] RYM., viii, 167. [3] So he signs himself. See his letter, dated June 7th, 1401, in ROY. LET., i, 66. [4] USK, 42. [5] Juxta episcopum Carleoli.—EUL., 382; CRET., xix, 388.

Richard's counsellors was at its height, he was removed [1]for security to the custody of the Abbot of St. Alban's, a Benedictine like himself. He was now required to answer the charges made against him, together with the accused Dukes and Earls. Waiving his right to be tried in the Church Courts, he declared his innocence of any complicity in the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, and eloquently demanded his liberty. He was told that his life would not be safe from the popular violence, and quietly returned for a time to the friendly protection of St. Alban's Abbey.

This is probably the foundation for the account which is worked into the story by a French writer, who wrote in Paris from the information of others, and with the avowed purpose of inciting the French people to hatred against Henry for his usurpation. The story has been taken up by Hall, writing in the reign of Henry VIII., and copied from him by Grafton and Holinshead, and has thus found its way into the Shakespearian drama ; hence, with literary embellishments, into Heywood, Trussel, Collier, and every succeeding author, till Guthrie (1747) and Carte, to whom it must have been bitter to lose so telling a point against "usurpers."

A similar leniency was dealt out to the other accused persons. They were to be degraded from the titles which they held, the three Dukes (of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter) to resume their old [2]styles as Earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon ; the Marquis of Dorset and the Earl of Gloucester, their old names of Earl of Somerset and Lord Despenser, respectively. The lands and possessions which they had acquired since 1397 were taken from them, and they were significantly warned not to attempt any further support of Richard under pain of treason.

[1]Pro tutelâ suâ.—ANN., 314. [2]The degradation took place before November 4th ; (PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 17,) where the Duke of Albemarle is called "Edward, Earl of Rutland." Cf. November 6th (in PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 18), and November 11th (*Ibid.*, m. 7), for similar designations.

They were to give no liveries of signs and to have no retinue but their own necessary officers, and all who were aggrieved by any riotous assaults or attacks from members of their "companies" were invited now to make known their complaints. [1]After a short imprisonment they were delivered up to the friendly custody of [2]William Colchester, Abbot of Westminster, himself a secret partisan of Richard, who gave security to Henry to deliver them up when called upon. They were then treated with every consideration and respect, and very soon allowed their liberty. The Earl of Salisbury alone was exempted from this favourable treatment, perhaps on account of Henry's personal dislike to him. He had been challenged by the Earl of Morley, and arrangements were being made for the trial by battle at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Salisbury was in the meantime kept in prison, the Londoners clamouring for his head in Cheapside. He was, however, subsequently released, four friends being security for him, through the influence of Henry's sister [3]Elizabeth, who was married to the Earl of Huntingdon.

[4]Sir William Bagot remained a close prisoner in the Tower.

[1]Said to be nine weeks; though this is not easy to calculate.—TRAIS., 76. But the hollowness and unreality of the royal displeasure may be inferred by consulting the Patent Rolls for the year. On November 7th, 1399, the King expresses his confidence in the fidelity, discretion, and industry of his dear brother John, Earl of Somerset, and appoints him to be Chamberlain of England (PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 4). Similarly, on November 4th, 1399 (PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 17), the King nominates Edward, Earl of Rutland, to be Justiciary and Keeper of the New Forest, and of all forests south of the Trent. On November 24th, the custody of the Channel Islands was confirmed to him (PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 20), and three days later (November 27th) he received a grant of the Isle of Wight (PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 11). On the 1st December, the Earl of Kent had a grant confirmed to him of 200 marks per annum and six casks of wine (PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 1). On the 4th December, the Earls of Rutland and Huntingdon were present as regular members of the Council (ORD. PRIVY CO., i, 100), while the Earl of Kent was even accepted as a guarantee for the good behaviour of his fellow conspirator, the Earl of Salisbury.—HOL. [2]CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 19. [3]FROIS. [4]The order for his committal to the Tower is dated November 22nd, 1399.—CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 29.

He was at first kept in chains, but on [1]April 5th, 1400, this indignity was remitted, and he was allowed to take exercise in the grounds, on giving his word that he would not attempt to escape, strengthened by bail on the part of his friends to the extent of £1,000. On [2]September 25th, 1400, he was still a prisoner in the Tower; but on the 26th of February, 1401, the Commons petitioned the King on his behalf, and received a [3]favourable answer. He was subsequently set at liberty and restored to his lands at Packington, where he died seven years afterwards in obscurity.

Considering the high birth and prominent station of the offenders, the sentences may be considered a model of mildness, amounting almost to foolhardiness. On the one hand the supporters of Richard were already beginning to recover heart, openly declaring themselves "King Richard's nurselings" *(nurres á le Rey Richard)*, and ostentatiously displaying the white hart, his badge of livery. On the other hand the Londoners, disappointed of their revenge, were crying out against the King, the Archbishop, and the Earl of Northumberland, for their culpable leniency in dealing with the accused. It was insinuated that they had all been bribed to spare the lives of the guilty, and a [4]letter mysteriously found its way into the King's closet threatening him with an insurrection if he did not execute the Lords. The author of the letter was never discovered, and the angry feeling had not diminished at the dissolution of Parliament.

As a safeguard against the reckless grants of lands and

[1] TRAIS., 187. CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 5, vinculis quibus jam ligatus est. [2] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 2, 6. [3] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 8; ROT. PARL., iii, 459; ARCHÆOL., xx, 278, from Kenilworth MS., though CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 26 (dated November 12th, 1400) had already contained an order for his release. In June, 1402, John Benyngton, of Coventry, complains that his life had been threatened by Sir William Bagot, at Whitemarch, by force and arms, for two years past.—ROT. PARL., iii, 484. [4] ANN., 320.

offices to personal favourites of the King, which had proved so ruinous in the late reign, it was [1]enacted in this Parliament that no offices of profit or gifts of land should be granted by the King without first taking the advice of his Council "saving always his liberty;" and that letters patent of the King granting such offices and possessions should not be held valid unless the exact value of the grant was specified distinctly at the time the letters were issued.

[2]On Wednesday, November 19th, the Parliament was fittingly dissolved, with a declaration of a general pardon for all past political offences, treasons, or felonies, except, of course, those committed by common criminals and malefactors. One exception alone was made to this general clemency. No pardon was to be extended to those who were present at the murder of the Duke of Gloucester. Little domestic legislation had been attempted. The "Companies" were to be put down, and liveries forbidden. Various irregularities in the collection and disbursement of the customs were to be checked, and Commissioners were to enquire into the state of wears and obstructions in rivers, [3]especially in Wales and Yorkshire, with a view to prevent the recurrence of the late disastrous floods. The names of the Commissioners and their instructions are dated October 22nd, 1399. All [4]"piles, pales, pools, kidels, dams, and races" that had been placed in rivers since the time of the Statute of 25 Edward III., or altered so as to impede the passage of boats, were to be altogether removed or destroyed.

In the Fens of Lincolnshire, particularly about Boston and Friskney, and in parts of Lindsey, the sea had broken in and done immense damage to walls, dykes, sewers, and bridges. A Commission was appointed under the Earl of Northumberland

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 433 *a*; STAT. 1 H. IV., c. 6. [2] EVES., 164. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 1. [4] *Ibid*, 3, 23 (November 19th, 1399). [5] *Ibid*, 4, 32 in tergo December 1st, 1399).

to enquire and devise remedies. Similar damage was done in [1]Holderness (Yorkshire), about Osgoldcross, in the flats near the [2]Aire, the Ouse, and the Don; in the Thames about [3]Woolwich and Greenwich, [4]Sheppey and Queenborough, Rainham, and [5]Stratford-at-Bow; on the south coast, round [6]Hythe, Farleigh, [7]Appledore, [8]Bexley, and Pevensey; in the flat lands known as [9]Holland, on the southern shore of the Humber; around [10]Pocklington and the Derwent on the Yorkshire shore; at [11]Sandwich in Kent, in the valley of the Arun as far as [12]Pulborough in Sussex, at [13]Orford on the coast of Suffolk, at [14]Bristol and Taunton and up the valley of the Severn at [15]Tockington and Rockhampton. In Lancashire the bridge over the Ribble at [16]Preston was so broken by the floods in the river and the high tides, which washed the floating masses of ice about in the winter, that "there was no crossing or access" without danger to person or property. The inhabitants were willing to rebuild a stone bridge by the side of the other if the King would forego some portion of the dues, and this he was willing to do.

In dealing with the pressing necessities of the moment, Henry and his Council had shown a wise moderation. Legal remedies had been applied; the owners of forfeited estates had been restored to their own without violence or retaliation; and the [17]attack upon the privileges of the Clergy, which had been at first so much dreaded, had not even been mentioned since the day on which Sir John Cheyne had vacated his post as Speaker. On the contrary, a special confirmation of Clerical Privileges was secured, and it was [18]enacted that no Bishop or

[1] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 27. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 13. [3] *Ibid*, 6, 13. [4] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 12. [5] *Ibid*, m. 7. [6] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 22. [7] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 4. [8] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 26. [9] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 22. [10] *Ibid*, m. 35. [11] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 2. [12] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 17. [13] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 23. [14] *Ibid*, 4, 10. [15] *Ibid*, 1, 27. [16] *Ibid*, 1, 32 (November 12th, 1400). [17] CONC., iii, 242. [18] RYM., viii, 123.

Archbishop should be liable to be called to account in the secular courts on any charge whatever, except by a special order from the King and after other means of enquiry had proved ineffectual.

During the long wars with France the property of the "alien priories," *i.e.* of the French ecclesiastics settled in England, had been gradually seized and the houses impoverished, thus stopping in many districts the sources of hospitality and almsgiving, as well as causing a cessation of the Church services in remote country districts. On November 13th an order was issued that fresh appointments should be made to these neglected neighbourhoods, and for the next three months the records abound with the names of fresh Priors appointed. At least thirty places are [1]specified, including Barnstaple, Loders (near Bridport), Blyth (near Newcastle), St. Michael's Mount, Modbury, Andover, Montague, Folkestone, Haigh, Linton (in Cambridgeshire), St. Neot's, Ocle (near Hereford), Carisbrook, Lapley (in Staffordshire), Stoursey, Monmouth, St. Helens (Isle of Wight), Tykeford (near Newport Pagnell), Tuttlebury, Pembroke, Birkeby Monachorum, Hinkley, Strogutha (Llandaff), Coton (Exon), Lancaster, York, and Northampton.

Thus after a busy session of five weeks the Parliament broke up, giving the country better promise of orderly development for the future than it had enjoyed for very many years.

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 3.

CHAPTER V.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FOR ten years past there had been peace with Scotland, and the forces which had burst and spent themselves at Otterbourne were gathering strength for another periodical outbreak on the Border. The Scots were then ruled by the degenerate and decrepit hand of Robert III. [1] His son, the Duke of Rothsay, had just attained his majority (twenty-one years), and had taken up the office of Guardian of the Realm (January, 1399), acting as Regent for the King, with the assistance of a Council of Eighteen; while his uncle, the Duke of Albany, brother to the King, remained Chamberlain of Scotland. A short truce had been negociated between John of Ghent and the Duke of Rothsay, but this would expire on September 29th, 1399. The Scots, elated with the memory of Otterbourne, and weary of long inaction, were eager to invade.

After securing the person of Richard, and before he himself had been made King, Henry had acted on a suggestion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and authorized Commissioners on the Border to meet with Commissioners from the Scots, and to agree, if possible, to a further prolongation of the truce for twelve months, dating from September 29th, 1399. [2] He had about the same time sent a letter to King Robert, notifying him that the Commissioners had met, and requesting that he would at once appoint some member of his Council to declare and proclaim the continuance of the truce. This letter was received by the Scottish King at

[1] EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., iii, lxxxv, 486. [2] ROY. LET., 4.

Linlithgow, on October 3rd, before any news could have reached the North as to the proceedings of the Parliament in London. King Robert replied by the same messenger that his Council could not at present meet, but that he would soon call his Parliament together and lay the matter before them. He would then at once acquaint Henry with his decision.

[1]Accordingly after a month's delay he (on November 2nd) sent a further letter to Henry, whom he still addressed as "Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Derby, and Seneschal of England," the title under which negociations had been at first opened between them. In this letter he agreed to appoint recognized Commissioners to meet any whom Henry might depute to treat on the Border for a prolongation of the truce, or for consolidating it into a formal treaty. Meantime, however, news had arrived that the Scots, taking advantage of the absence of the great Northern Earls from their commands, and the weakness caused in the North by the continuance of the [2]pestilence, had captured and destroyed the Castle of Wark, on the south bank of the Tweed, between Berwick and Roxburgh, and done much damage in the neighbourhood. Wark Castle was in the charge of Thomas Gray, who had received it from Henry since his landing. About the beginning of [3]October the Castle fell into the hands of the Scots, who carried off Gray's children and many of his tenants (for whose ransom they exacted a sum of £1,000), together with property to the value of 2,000 marks.

At this news Henry's blood was up, and he declared in the Parliament (Monday, November 10th) that he would himself conduct an expedition to chastise the Scots. The Northern Earls, to whom the custody of the Marches had been allotted, protested that they had not advised him to take this course, and

[1] ROY. LET., 8. [2] "Plague only is a harbinger to Scots, worse maladies!" —G. DANIEL, iv, 14 (Trinarch, 53). [3] Before the coronation, according to PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 28.

made a public declaration to this effect. The Commons also petitioned that the King would remember the risk he would run by exposing himself to the pestilence then prevalent in the North, reminding him that he was only now [1]beginning to feel his feet, and that his throne was not yet secure. They insisted that at least the Prince of Wales, being yet of tender years, should not leave the kingdom. The King replied that he undertook the expedition of his own accord, and that he would not spare himself in defence of the kingdom.

He may perhaps have resolved to assert his independence of the great Northern Earls at the earliest possible moment by undertaking the personal charge of the first operations in which the Constable was to engage, and on the very ground on which his family interest was strongest; but he certainly exposed himself and his new dynasty to unusual risks by absenting himself from the capital, and, had his throne then fallen, he would have seemed to have courted failure by an exaggeration of that infatuated recklessness which had decoyed Richard across to Ireland a few months before.

On reflection however, and perhaps after receiving the letter of the Scottish King, Henry thought it better not to act too hastily. He did not proceed to the North; on the contrary he authorized the Earl of Westmoreland to arrange for the preservation of his property on the West Marches, [2]"in case our enemies, the Scots, shall be willing to treat and bargain with him;" and while clearly recognising the possibility of war [3]he sent a moderate remonstrance to King Robert complaining of the "very great and horrible wrongs" committed even by the sons of the Scotch Wardens, but stating his willingness still to treat "for the honour of God and the good of peace," if the Scotch King would send Commissioners to the Abbey of Kelso

[1] Q'il est ore yore.—ROT. PARL., iii, 434; ARCHÆOL., xx, App. vi.
[2] RYM., viii, 107. [3] ROY. LET., 11.

by Monday, January 5th next ensuing, appointing in the meantime three Special Commissioners to arrange all necessary preliminaries in his name. [1]Nevertheless piracy continued to be openly practised. The men of Yarmouth captured a quantity of wine from the Scots, at sea, and Henry claimed it as his own (November 26th, 1399).

[2]One of the three Commissioners so empowered was Sir Thomas Gray, the Northumberland Knight, who had just lost Wark Castle, and another was [3]Jean D'Artois ([4]"Janico D'Artasso" or D'Artays), a young Gascon esquire naturalised and settled in England, and lately one of the close intimates of King Richard. He had been with Richard in Ireland, and had done great things against the wild Irish in the bogs of Kildare. He had then crossed with him to Wales, and had remained one of his five faithful adherents when all others deserted. In conjunction with the Earl of Salisbury and the Bishop of Carlisle, he had advised Richard to withdraw to Bordeaux, but being overruled he accompanied him to Flint, Rhuddlan, and Chester. At Chester he parted with King Richard for ever, and as he refused to remove his badge he was imprisoned by Henry in Chester Castle. But like the rest, when the game seemed hopelessly lost, he looked to his own interest. [5]He sued to Henry and was taken into his service, receiving a continuation and increase of the grants made to him by Richard, with a promise of employment for life in the service of the new King. Thus before four months had passed he was not only again at liberty, but entrusted by Henry with weighty negociations on the Border, 300 miles from London, in a field well placed for Northern disaffection and French intrigue. But peace abroad was at present a necessity for King Henry,

[1]CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 27. [2]December 10th, 1399.—RYM., viii, 113. [3]ARCHÆOL., xx, 92, &c. [4]PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 22. [5]PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 10 (November 10th, 1399).

and he seems by this time to have rightly gauged the value of the lip-loyalty which had bound even the most faithful of Richard's adherents to a falling cause. [1]On November 29th, 1399, Jean D'Artois had permission to cross to Ireland to prosecute his gains there for one year, if he wished. He was allowed £40 per annum from the revenues of Dublin in lieu of the Manor of [2]Norragh, and was to keep his other lands and possessions in Ireland which might be managed by [3]deputy. On September 22nd, 1400, he and his wife Johanna received further grants in Bordeaux.

A like feeling of security can alone account for the appointment of Sir Peter Courtney as Governor of Calais. He was a relation of Richard's, and had held Bristol for him only a few weeks before. Yet as early as [4]October 8th, 1399, he received large grants of land from Henry, and was retained in his office as Constable of Windsor Castle. [5]He was likewise continued in his command as Captain of the town of Calais for six years, [6]a post which he had previously held under King Richard during the King's pleasure.

With France the country was at peace. Three years before, Richard had married Isabel, the eldest child of Charles VI., and a [7]treaty of peace had been concluded between the two countries which was to last until the year 1426. On the fall of Richard, his little Queen, then only eleven years old, was kept under the custody of the Duke of York, in the Royal Castle of Wallingford, from whence she was soon afterwards removed to the Manor of Sonning, near Reading.

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 6. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 7 (December 14th, 1399); *Ibid*, 6, 14. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 31 (November 19th). [4] PAT., 1 H. IV. [5] ORIG. LET., dated November 2nd, refers to command as beginning October 1st. [6] RYM., viii, 83. [7] RYM., vii, 820. At the negotiations in 1396, for the marriage of Richard and Isabella, it was proposed that Henry should have her sister Marie for his wife when she was old enough, but the little princess was then only three years old and nothing came of it.—TILLET, 310.

[1]News of the capture and deposition of Richard reached the French Court slowly, at first from the evidence of some merchants from Bruges ; but the worst fears were confirmed on the arrival of Madame de Coucy, who had been Governess to Queen Isabella, but had been dismissed and had made her way across directly to Paris. It was not likely that the French King would acknowledge the authority of the man who had imprisoned his son-in-law and ally, and usurped his throne. But Charles VI., used up with debauchery at the age of thirty years, had more than once been put under restraint when under the influence of mental [2]derangement, and had been, like Richard, all his lifetime under the control of three powerful and unscrupulous uncles, the Dukes of Anjou, Berri, and Burgundy.

When Henry was in exile a year before, he had been graciously received in Paris, and being himself a widower, had entertained hopes of marrying [3]Marie, the daughter of the Duke of Berri, herself only twenty-four years of age, but already twice a widow. This plan was frustrated, however, through the suspicions of Richard, who sent over the Earl of Salisbury to oppose it. Nevertheless, a friendly understanding was maintained between Henry and the Duke of Berri, and Louis, Duke of Orleans, with the latter of whom he entered into a special secret [4]agreement for mutual support and defence. Henry afterwards maintained that the Duke of Orleans had incited him to the enterprise against the Crown of England in order to embarrass *(contrarier)* the Duke of Burgundy. At any rate some of the [5]retainers of the Dukes of Berri and

[1]FROIS., iv, 313. [2]"Comme les vengences de Dieu soyent merveilleuses! ainsi comme jadis la punicion du péchié de David purgia par la percussion du peuple peut estre pour nos péchiez Dieu consent la playe sus notre chief," says CHRIST. DE PIS., ii, 15. [3]MEZERAI, i, 982. [4]See the document, dated Paris, June 17th, 1399, in ARCHIVES DE FRANCE, REPORT ON FŒDERA, D. 145. Henry was attended by three esquires, viz.: Thomas Erpingham, Thomas Rempston, and John Norbury, who witnessed the agreement.—MONSTR. (i, 10) gives date 1396; WAUR., (iv, 75) 1382. [5]JUV., 418.

Orleans were present at Henry's coronation at Westminster, where they were received with marked attention and entertained at the King's table when all other foreigners were excluded. Everything was thus possible, and it rested very much with the caprice of the French Dukes, and the accident of to-morrow, whether Henry would secure the neutrality and even the friendship of the French, or whether Charles should take up his son-in-law's quarrel and endeavour to restore him to his throne.

Upon the French King the news of Richard's capture came as a heavy blow, plunging him into deep melancholy and causing a return of his mania. He assumed either that Richard was dead or that he would shortly be put to death, and he insisted that messengers should cross at once to England to see his daughter in person, and bring back word of her condition.

On the English side a Commission was issued [1](November 29th, 1399) to Walter Skirlaw, the aged and munificent Bishop of Durham, and Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, to proceed to France with proposals of friendship, and even intermarriage, between Henry, Prince of Wales, "or any of his sisters and brothers," and any of the children either of the King or of any of his uncles, a wholesale sacrifice indicating a desperate desire for alliance and peace at any price.

Immediately after his accession Henry despatched a letter (October 4th) to [2]Antonio Venier, Doge of Venice, in which city he had more than once been splendidly received in his roving days of adventure in the East. In this letter he referred to the constant proofs he had received of the friendship and affection of the Adriatic Commonwealth. These he was now at length in a position to reciprocate, and he invited the citizens and traders of Venice to come freely to England where they should be assured of special privileges under his special

[1] RYM., viii, 118. [2] STATE PP. VEN., i, 39.

protection. His letter was gratefully received and considered in the Venetian Senate, and [1]on February 10th, 1400, two Ambassadors were elected to represent the Republic in London, with full instructions to communicate with the King with all suitable ceremony.

The trade of the North of Europe was then entirely in the hands of the German towns on the Baltic and the North Sea. Complaints had long been growing against the piracy and acts of violence committed by or with the sanction of the members of the Hanseatic League. The principal coast towns in the [2]League were Lübeck, Danzig, Rostock, Stralsund, Elbing, Thorn, Wismar, and Greifswald. Towards the close of Richard's reign warning had been sent to Lübeck that if redress were not made before a stated time the English would resort to reprisals, the only available means of self-defence in the absence of a permanent protecting fleet. Henry now renewed afresh the old privileges granted by Edward I. to the merchants of the Hansa in London, and thereby completed a chain of security for English merchants having intercourse with the north, as well as the south of Europe, and the East. He added a proviso, however, to the effect that the privileges would be curtailed unless similar rights were extended to English traders residing in Germany, and unless deputies from the Hanse towns appeared before the Council before the next Midsummer Day, to answer complaints lodged by English merchants as to their [3]treatment there. Satisfactory explanations appear to have been given, and the privileges of the Hanse towns were confirmed on [4]December 6th.

In a friendly letter written to his sister Philippa, who was the wife of [5]John, King of Portugal, he begged her intervention

[1] STATE PP. VEN., i, 40. [2] MALLET, i, 374. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 23 (October 23rd, 1399). [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 21. [5] In a subsequent letter from King John (December 30th, 1403), he addresses Henry as his "brother and friend, whom we most truly love and esteem above all the princes of the world."—ROY. LET., i, 191.

with her husband to check the Moorish corsairs who issued from the ports of Africa, and preyed upon the commerce of the Straits and the Mediterranean.

We may here glance for a moment at the relations between England and the Princes of the Lower Rhine. The young Duke William, after a youth of storm and adventure, had, on the death of his father in 1393, united for the first time in his own person the two rival duchies of Gueldres and Julier, on the Lower Rhine. He was of Henry's age, and had been his comrade in arms with the Teutonic knights against the Prussians, and in Africa against the Saracens in 1390. In 1386, when Duke of Gueldres alone, he had made an alliance with Richard to last during his lifetime, in which he did homage to the King of England as his vassal, undertaking to serve him with 500 knights, whose wages were to be paid by the English King, against the King of France. The King of England was to supply him also with money to the amount of £1,000 per annum during his life. The young Duke was at that time engaged in border quarrels with his neighbour Joan, the aged Duchess of Brabant, who through the influence of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, had secured the support of the King of France, and a French army commanded by Charles VI. in person was on the march to invade his little domain. The alliance with England having availed him nothing, he submitted to the French King for a time and turned his energies elsewhere, but he kept up his hatred to the Frenchmen, and in 1392 he visited England and advised Richard not to conclude any truce with the common enemy, or with Scotland. He was supported by the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, and was made a Knight of the Garter. He then returned to his own country, only to renew the old wars against his neighbours, who were abetted by the powerful influence of the Duke of Burgundy and the French. As before, he derived no benefit from his connection with

England, and he was driven to conclude a peace with Brabant in June, 1399. He at once took advantage of the change that was coming over England. [1]He helped the young Earl of Arundel with money when he escaped from the custody of the Duke of Exeter, and he promptly recognised Henry as soon as the Parliament had supplied him with a title.

On October 2nd, he assured Henry of his friendship and his wish to renew the alliance that had existed in the time of Richard. Henry returned a reassuring answer, referring to their early friendship, and a further interchange of letters followed in which the Duke proposed to visit Henry in person in England, a proposal to which [2]Henry, in set diplomatic phrase, graciously signified his assent. [3]On June 19th, 1400, William Feriby left England on an embassy to the Duke, probably requesting him to postpone his visit till the King's return from Scotland. At any rate, the Duke did not visit England. [4]In May, 1401, commissioners were sent to him to treat for alliance, to receive his homage, and cordially to renew the friendship which had existed during the previous reign, though at the very same time he was in treaty with the King of France, in behalf of himself and his brother, the Count of Cassel; and [5]in 1401 he visited Paris, where he entered into a league with the Duke of Orleans. [6]His brother was to do homage to the French King, and to receive 20,000 crowns in return, while [7]he himself was to do homage and fealty in return for 50,000 crowns, and to lend his aid against the English King. But early in the following year [8](February 15th, 1402) Duke William died after a long illness, and was succeeded

[1] TRAIS., 98. [2] See the letter (dated May 20th, 1400) in ROY. LET., i, 33. [3] FOREIGN ROLL., 1 H. IV He was absent till August 3rd, and received £75 for his expenses. [4] RYM., viii, 189, 191. [5] JUV., 420. [6] See the documents (dated June 2nd, 1401) referred to in TILLET, 119. [7] Dated June 20th, 1401, in THRESOR DES CHARTRES [vii, 284 (26)—285 (29)] Archives de France, in REPT. ON FŒD., App. D. 343. [8] ROY. LET., i, 93; L'ART DE VERIF., iii, 181.

by his brother Reynald. So that England took neither good nor harm from the homage of this greedy and double-faced ally.

Friendly communications were also opened, and [1]kind messages interchanged with [2]Duke Albert, Count of Holland and Zealand, who was likewise Count of Hainault on the French border, and whose son and heir, William, Count of Oostervant, (afterwards William VI. of Holland) was married to Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, recently acknowledged as Count of Flanders; though these diplomatic courtesies did not prevent the [3]issue of letters of marque from London to prey upon Dutch commerce (October 27th, 1399).

Arrangements were also made for announcing the King's accession to the courts of Spain, Portugal, and Germany. [4]Walter Blount and a clerk were to be sent (February 2nd, 1400) to Portugal and Arragon, while [5]John Trevor, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Sir William Parre proceeded to Spain, where Henry the Third, the young King of Castile and Léon, was married to Henry's half-sister Catherine. But, in spite of the friendly feeling between the two Courts, [6]complaints were heard from English merchants and shipowners of robberies of their merchandise committed by Spanish vessels.

[7]William Cheyne likewise proceeded about the same time to Rome, to communicate with the Pope "on secret business."

[1]Roy. Let., i, 21. [2]So called in Claus. 5 H. IV., 1, 6., as a Duke of Bavaria. [3]Pat., 1 H. IV., 1, 13. [4]Ord. Priv. Co., i, 111. [5]Ann., 320; Heywood, 114. [6]Exch. Treas. of Receipt, Misc., $\frac{18}{17}$ [7]Pells Issue Roll, 1 H. IV., Pasc. (May 20th, 1400) not John Cheyne, as Ann., 320.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEATH OF RICHARD.

WE have seen that the Earls of Rutland, Huntingdon, and Kent, after being formally degraded from their titles as Dukes and being imprisoned for a short time, had been committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster. Their detention cannot have been strict or long continued, for the two former were present as recognised [1]members of the King's council on December 4th, 1399; the Duke of [2]York being bound in person and property for the good behaviour of the Earl of Rutland, his son; while the Earl of Salisbury, in spite of Henry's personal aversion to him and the hatred borne him by the Londoners, was soon again at liberty through the intercession of the Earl of Huntingdon and his wife, his good behaviour being guaranteed [3]by the Earl of Kent. The Ex-Bishop of Carlisle also, though nominally in ward at St. Albans, was at perfect liberty to come and go where he would, so long as he did not risk his person too openly in the hands of a London mob. By [4]December 6th, 1399, he was certainly hiding in London and conspiring secretly with Sir Thomas Blount and Sir [5]Benedict Sely. We have seen also that at least two other partisans of the deposed Richard were entrusted, the one with the custody of the town and castle of Calais, and the other with the conduct of negociations with the Scotch on the border. On the part of Henry such heroic generosity can

[1]ORD. PRIV. CO., i. 100. [2]TRAIS., 81. [3]HOL. [4]RYM., viii, 165. [5]Or Cely. See PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 33 (dated November 14th, 1399), where a grant is confirmed to him of forty marks per annum, and a manor near Winchelsea. Also PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 1 (December 14th, 1399), where he received the confirmation of grants of several alien Priories.

only be explained by excessive confidence in his strength, or by excessive weakness; but fortunately for him his enemies lost no time in openly abusing his clemency, before the inevitable [1]reaction had set in among the masses of the people against his late rapid rise and sudden success.

On Wednesday, December 17th, 1399, the Earls of Huntingdon, Kent, Rutland, and Salisbury, met in the Abbey House at Westminster, and with them the deposed Archbishop of Canterbury (Roger Walden), the Ex-Bishop of Carlisle, and William Colchester, the Abbot of Westminster. There was present also Richard Maudeleyn, a priest from the disaffected district of [2]Essex, who had been one of King Richard's most intimate personal companions. This man bore a remarkable likeness to the late King both in face and figure, and had been employed by him on confidential service in some of the most questionable of the many acts of oppression which marked the close of his reign. [3]On leaving Ireland he had taken all the money that was in the Treasury, and refused to give it up. Two others were present at the Abbot's house: the one a French physician, [4]John Paule ("Master Pol"), whom Richard had left at Wallingford as one of the specially trusted guardians of his Queen; the other, Sir Thomas Blount, "a sage baron," of [5]Oxfordshire, is up till now unknown, except that he had [6]lands in Hampshire and Wilts, and [7]that a grant of £20 per

[1] Disaffection was already prevalent in Kent. See the accusation against Sir Stephen Scrope for plotting against the King at Bynbury.—RYM., viii, 170. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 9 (dated December 16th, 1399), refers to a dispute existing between him and Thomas Coggeshall, concerning some property in Childerditch and other places in the Hundred of Chafford, in Essex. [3] MS. TITUS B, xi, 3, in King's County, Ireland, 263.—ARCHÆOL., xx, 244. CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 28 (dated October 29th, 1399), contains an acknowledgement on the part of Richard Maudeleyn, clerk, of a debt of 1000 marks to Henry Bowet, with a promise to pay before next February 2nd. [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 5 (dated November 19th, 1399), confirms grant of two casks of wine per annum, made by Richard to "John Paule, chivaler, and Johanna his wife." [5] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 13. [6] INQ. POST MORT., 1 H. IV., 265. [7] PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 1. See also a mention of him in 1389, as reviewing troops at Dover about to depart for Calais.—Rot. Fr., 12 R. II., in TRAIS., 244.

annum from revenues of the city of Hereford was confirmed to him by Henry on November 11th, 1399.

The King was at Windsor, and had issued letters of invitation to all parts of the country to attend a great tournament (or "mommyng"), which was to be held there on the ensuing Feast of Epiphany (January 6th). The conspirators had now met to arrange their opportunity. In accordance with familiar [1]precedents in similar surprises, armed men were to be introduced into the castle at Windsor with carts of harness, as if in preparation for the jousts. The rebel lords were to meet at Kingston on the evening of [2]January 4th, and to move from thence in the night, with their followers, rapidly on to Windsor. Their partisans within the castle were to rise and kill the guards at a signal, and open the gates to their masters outside. King Henry and his sons were to be surprised and despatched. The conspirators would then proclaim that King Richard had escaped and was again in their midst to claim his own, Maudeleyn doing duty for him on the spot until the real Richard should be released, or the chapter of accidents disclose some other issue of the complications which would certainly ensue.

But, as though to guard against suspected treason in their midst, six bonds were drawn out, in which the conspirators bound themselves to be true to one another and to restore King Richard to his throne or die in the attempt. These bonds, being privately notched and marked, were then sealed and sworn to by the conspirators, each retaining his copy as a check or guarantee upon the fidelity of the others. So they parted, to meet at Kingston two days before the jousts.

But there were too many in the secret. The preparations

[1] Cf. the captnre of the castle at Linlithgow, in 1314, by a few armed men concealed in a load of hay.—LING., iii, 10; also Mons, by Count Louis of Nassau, in 1572, when arquebusses were introduced, concealed as merchandise in three carts.—MOTLEY, 473. [2] "Le premier dimenche de l'an."—MS. LE BAUD.

could not be altogether disguised, and [1]Rumour, the woman with the wings and the hundred eyes, had blown the deed upon the wind. The wife of the Earl of Huntingdon was Henry's sister, the mother of the Earl of Kent was Archbishop Arundel's sister, while other [2]lighter bonds of divided woman's affection among Henry's personal attendants spread shadowy warnings in the castle against some mysterious impending crime.

The King with his four sons and some few friends was keeping Christmas in retirement at Windsor. He was out of health and needed rest. The Prince of Wales also and many of the royal household were ailing, and the usual suspicions of wholesale poisoning were abroad. [3]Archbishop Arundel had been expected at Windsor, but Henry had sent him a message to keep out of the way at Reigate. A general uneasiness prevailed, and the King was heard to say that he wished that Richard, the focus of all intrigue, were dead. The Duke of York, the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Arundel, and Warwick, with others, approached him with a petition that his wish might be carried into effect, but he refused with some show of indignation, though he added that [4]if there should be any rising in the country, then Richard should be the first to die.

The Fourth of January arrived. The conspirators were at their posts at Kingston, but, whether with consent or not, the Earl of Rutland was not with them. He was in the neighbourhood of Windsor, with his father, the Duke of York, and a [5]letter was despatched to him from Kingston by a confidential servant, reminding him of his oath and bond and requiring that

[1] Tot vigiles oculi subter mirabile dictu,
Tot linguæ, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit aures.
ÆN., iv, 182.

[2] LEL. COL., ii, 310; EUL., iii, 385. [3] EUL., iii, 386. [4] Later writers, after Hall, assume that this proviso was inserted in the judgment of Parliament which condemned Richard to perpetual imprisonment. [5] All accounts say that the letter was sent to him "to London," but events pressed too fast to make this at all possible.

he should join the others at Colnbrook in time for the projected attempt on the 6th. Thus a second time within a few months Rutland had gathered the threads of events into his hands, and showed that if he could make conspiracy he could mar it also. Six months before, he had delayed the vessels for Ireland just at the critical moment when warning might have been brought to Richard of his danger at home, and now a second time, in the face of solemn promises, he failed his friends and delivered them up to save his own neck and fortunes. He took the letter, with his bond and the six seals attached, to his father, who lost not an hour in disclosing the whole matter to the King.

Henry, being thus forewarned, might have well defended himself and his sons in the castle at Windsor against any surprise, but he saw the risk he ran in being cut off from London even for a day, while his new throne could not afford to stand the chance of shock from the appearance of an armed force in the field beginning the attack unopposed.

It was now late on a winter afternoon. Horses were saddled. The King, with his sons and two attendants, threw himself promptly into the adventure, daring all the chances of capture or ambuscade by the way. He took the road to London which would lead him right through the gathering-ground of the rebels, and [1]posting hard he reached the capital unobserved that Sunday night at nine o'clock. On the road he was met by the Mayor of London, with tidings that the rebels were in the field with an army which terror magnified to 6,000 men. Once in [2]London he threw himself upon his people. Letters were issued to the Sheriffs of Counties all over England to arrest as traitors Thomas, Earl of Kent, John, Earl of Huntingdon, and

[1] The speed with which journeys were then performed fully bears out the assumption of ROGERS (i, 664) that the highroads of England were in that age far from being so desperately impassable, as has been often assumed. [2] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 22 (January 5th, 1400).

any of their company, including [1]four priests, viz.: John Ikelington, Richard Maudeleyn, Nicholas Slake, and Richard Ffelde, wherever they might be; to seize all their lands and belongings; while all who received, maintained, or supported them were to be liable to forfeiture of life and limb. Similar letters were sent also to the [2]governor of Calais, requiring especial note to be taken of the movements of the King of France. [3]The Sheriffs of Leicester, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Derby and Nottingham were to array their forces. Strict [4]orders were sent to the ports that no ships were to be allowed to pass across the sea, as it was feared that mercenaries might be introduced from Flanders if once the news got abroad that the English were in rebellion. It was even ordered in the heat of the panic [5](January 5th), that the Wardens of the Ports of London and elsewhere should prevent *any one* from leaving the country without express permission. Nine days later (January 14th) this order was modified to mean that no Frenchman was to leave the country, and on January 18th it was ordered that all well-known traders should be allowed to proceed about their ordinary business. [6]A look-out was kept in Guernsey and the Channel Islands, to watch and report any movements of the French by sea. All who were for the King were to give in their names without delay. High pay was offered for fifteen days, and by eight o'clock in the evening of Monday (January 5th) more than 16,000 archers and bill-men were enrolled and ready to follow the King to the field.

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 28 (January 4th, 1400); CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 22. [2] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 23 (January 6th, 1400). [3] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 22 (January 5th, 1400). [4] This order was actually in force until March 28th, 1400, when large numbers of vessels, which had been detained at Plymouth, Weymouth, Exeter, Winchester, and twenty-three other ports, were allowed to proceed on their way.—CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 5. [5] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 20, 24. Payments to messengers for bearing these orders appear in PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., MICH., under date January 17th, 1400 [6] PELLS ISSUE ROLLS, 1 H. IV., quoted in TRAIS., p. lxi. (payment made on February 21st, 1400, for services in watching five weeks).

The next day (Tuesday, January 5th) Henry, [1]having committed his sons to the keeping of the Mayor and citizens, marched out of London, and in the afternoon reviewed his troops, some 20,000 strong, on the Heath at Hounslow. He at once despatched 4,000 archers and 200 lances in two companies, under the command of the Earl of Somerset and Sir Thomas Erpingham, to advance by different roads and bring him tidings of the enemy.

Meantime the conspirators, apprised perhaps of the necessity of haste, had themselves anticipated their plans. In the night of Sunday, January 4th, they set out from Kingston with 400 or 500 armed followers, and arrived at Windsor scarcely twelve hours after Henry and his sons had left it. [2]They were admitted, and after a feeble resistance found themselves masters of the castle and town. They searched everywhere for the King "and [3]deden moche harme thereaboughte." The victim had escaped, but even this mischance might be turned to good account. The district had been prepared for revolt. News was at once posted to the towns where they had intelligence, that the castle at Windsor was in their hands, that Henry was flying before them, that Richard had escaped and was assembling an army on the upper Thames. [4]In Wantage, Faringdon, and Cirencester, Richard was proclaimed King. The Earl of Kent rode off to Sonning, near Reading, and was received by the Ex-Queen Isabella. He proclaimed his success, tore off Henry's badges from those of the servants who attended her, and comforted her with hopes of still greater successes to come. He then hastened to rejoin the rest. Large numbers had already risen to join them, and the leaders moved out to Coln-

[1] Urbs fuit adjutrix quæ regis tunc quasi nutrix
Natos servavit et eos quasi mater amavit.
GOWER, in POL. SONGS, i, 452.

[2] RYM., viii, 165. [3] CHRON. LOND., 86. [4] RYM., viii, 165.

brook (January 6th), thinking to occupy the ground for a rapid march on London, while a body of them had gone forward to Brentford in the same direction.

At Colnbrook they were joined, as had been arranged, by the Earl of Rutland, whose dealings seem as yet to have been unsuspected. He told them that Henry was approaching with forces too large for them to cope with. A consultation ensued, and it was decided not to advance further to the east, but to fall back upon the west, where, with all [1]Wales and Cheshire at their back, they could alone hope to make a stand. And so the hopes of Richard began to melt away.

In all speed they drew off westward. But at Maidenhead Henry's advanced troops were upon them. Rutland escaped. The Earl of Kent made a successful stand at the bridge, and kept the assailants off till [2]all his party and the baggage were in safety. The Earl of Salisbury meanwhile led off the bulk of their followers through Henley and Oxford to Woodstock, where the Earl of Kent soon joined them, having stolen off from Maidenhead unperceived in the night. He travelled by Wallingford and Abingdon, spreading still the rumour of his sham success. The whole force, now much disheartened, retired hastily to Cirencester, whither Sir Thomas Blount, the Ex-Bishop of Carlisle, and others of their friends had preceded them. Another body found their way round to join them by St. Albans and Berkhampstead, and the whole force encamped in some fields outside the town of Cirencester.

But in the night the townspeople, headed by their Bailiff, John Cosyn, surrounded the house in which the rebel leaders were sleeping, barred up the entrances with beams and timber, and having closed all the approaches began to [3]assail the inmates with showers of arrows, lances, and stones, the women

[1] "Seying that Kyng Richard was up with alle Walys and Chesterschire."—CHRON. LOND., 86. [2] ST. DEN., xx, 15. [3] RYM., viii, 150.

helping in the streets. A fierce attack was kept up from day-break through doors and windows, the disheartened troops outside the town having melted away, while the small band of leaders in the crowded building were left to defend themselves as best they might against the fury of the townsfolk. By nine o'clock the mob had broken in, and the whole party forthwith surrendered under a promise that [1]their lives might be spared until they should have an audience with the King. They were then lodged in the Abbey of the Austin Canons, in the centre of the town, and news of the capture was despatched to Henry at Oxford.

Already vast crowds had gathered into the town from all the country round, but in the afternoon, about three o'clock [2](January 8th), when alarm and excitement were high, a fire broke out in some buildings in another part of the town. Supposing that this was the work of the conspirators, who might make their escape while the citizens were busied with the flames, the mob rushed wildly to the Abbey and demanded with threats of violence that the leading conspirators should be given up. [3]Sir Thomas Berkeley, who had taken over the custody of the rebels and was making arrangements to conduct them to a place of greater safety, resisted for a time, but was overborne, and in the night of January 8th the Earls of Kent and Salisbury were brought out and ignominiously beheaded by the mob in the streets, "the Lord of vengeance thus paying them the penalty due to their faithlessness and unbelief. Both had been faithless to their King, who had just shown such favour to them, but the Earl of Salisbury, John Montague, the friend of Lollards, the derider of images, the scoffer at sacraments, died miserably, refusing the sacrament of

[1] Les ditz gentz lui prometteront de lui avoir amesne saufment au roi.—ROT. PARL., 2 H. V., iv, 18. [2] Tertio post Epiphaniam.—EVES. [3] Et esteant en lour garde p. un jour et demi noet ensuant.—ROT. PARL., 1 H. V.

confession, if the common account be true," [1]says the monkish chronicler then living at St. Albans. But one who knew him well has sketched his portrait thus: "He [2]was humble, sweet and courteous in all his ways, and had every man's voice for being loyal in all places and right prudent. Full largely he gave and [3]timely gifts. He was brave and fierce as a lion. Ballads and songs and roundels and lays right beautiful he made. Though but a layman, still his deeds were all so gracious that never, I think, of his country shall be a man in whom God put so much of good, and may his soul be set in Paradise amongst the saints for ever." His body was buried in the Abbey at Cirencester, but his head, with that of the Earl of Kent, was sent to the King in a basket, "like fish for the market" [4]*(comme on porte la marée)*.

Quite a different account of the fight at Cirencester is given by Froissart, with whom these high-born lords meet a hero's death, overpowered by numbers. He could not let them vulgarly yield and be murdered by [5]"villain tipplers." The account which I have followed is more consistent, and agrees with the description in the official record, that they were [6]"taken and beheaded by the King's loyal lieges without process of law."

Up till [7]November 18th Cirencester was taken over by royal officers and strictly guarded in the name of the King, the expenses of the occupation being deducted from the revenues usually paid to the Abbot.

On the [8]15th of January, a like fate overtook Lord de Spenser, the Ex-Earl of Gloucester. He escaped from Cirencester, but was captured and carried to Bristol, where he was

[1] ANN., 174. "For he wold not be confessed when he schuld deie."—CAPGR., 276. [2] CHRIST. DE PISAN, who calls him "gracieux chevalier aimant dictiez et luy meme gracieux dicteur," in BOIVIN, Mem. Liter., quoted in ANDREWS, p. 2; CRET., 320. [3] "De preulx dons." [4] FROIS. [5] "Vilains godaliers. [6] ROT. PARL., iii, 459. [7] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 26. [8] "In septimanâ proximâ sequente."—EVES.

beheaded by the mob. His [1]head was sent to London; the [2]"furred cloak of motley velvet of damask" in which he was dressed at the time of his capture was retained as a trophy by the citizens of Bristol, and his estates were confiscated. His wife, [3]Constance, was allowed sufficient to maintain her from the day of her husband's death, together with the custody of her eldest son Richard, the other children being placed under the charge of [4]Lord William Beauchamp. The forfeiture was subsequently remitted in favour of the widow in [5]March 1404.

Within a very short time Johanna, the wife of the Earl of Kent was captured at Liverpool together with a large quantity of plate and personal belongings, with which she was probably endeavouring to escape to France or Ireland. The [6]property included a couch of red damask embroidered with "Oystrych-fethes" and curtains of "red Tartaryn," together with tapestry illustrating the history of Guy of Warwick, all which finery fell to the share of the Earl of Warwick. The lady was taken to [7]London, and received lenient treatment from the King.

Mathilda, the wife of the Earl of Salisbury, also fell into the hands of the victors. She was allowed to retain the manor of [8]Stokenham in Devonshire, together with an annuity of £100 per annum for the maintenance of herself and her children.

The Earl of Huntingdon, meanwhile, seems to have remained in London intending, if the rising succeeded in the open country, to bring what help he could to bear from the disaffected in the capital. On the arrival of Henry in London he had been compelled to hide himself, and [9]on the 10th January the

[1]See order to the Mayor of Bristol (dated January 24th, 1400) in CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 19, 28. [2]PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 8. [3]*Ibid*, m. 4 (dated February 19th, 1400). [4]*Ibid*, m. 21 (January 25th, 1400). [5]ROT. PARL., iii, 533. [6]See the list (dated February 21st, 1400) in PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 3, 6. [7]See the order for her removal (dated January 23rd, 1400) in PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 35 in tergo. [8]PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 33 (dated February 28th, 1400). [9]RYM., viii, 121.

Council, sitting at Westminster, issued an order to the Constable of the Tower for his safe keeping there until further instructions. [1]This order, however was never acted upon, for when the game was evidently lost, the Earl succeeded in getting on board a small boat and dropped down the river intending to make his escape to France. This is the account given by the English chronicler. The French story represents that he was with the rebels in the country, that he was surrounded with the others at Cirencester, but [2]that he slipped from a window in the darkness and made his way to Essex. This does not seem so probable a story as the other, for if he had been in Gloucestershire he could with much more security have made his escape from the West coast, while by making for the Thames he would be almost inviting capture. However this may be, he was driven back by the weather, and his small boat was compelled to put in to the marshes on the north shore of the Thames. Here he made his way to Hadley Castle, the home of Aubrey de Vere, the infirm Earl of Oxford, [3]who was married to his eldest daughter, Alice. Finding himself beset with spies, he stole out of the castle and hid himself in a mill in the marshes, waiting for the weather to abate. He was [4]accompanied by two faithful followers, his esquire, Sir Thomas [5]Shelley of [6]Aylesbury, and his butler, Hugh Cade. For two days and nights he lurked about [7]disguised. Then, in desperation, he tried the river again, but was again driven ashore, and took shelter in the night at the

[1] Similar writs were issued to the Constable for the custody of the "Duke of Surrey," the "Earl of Gloucester," and the Earl of Salisbury, but, of course, they came too late.—See CLAUS. I H. IV., I, 24. [2] "Fled out of the backsyde."—HALLE. [3] BELTZ, 233; INQ. POST MORT., 1 H. IV., 264; DUGDALE, s.v. "Vere." He died before July 20th, leaving a son, Richard, under age (CLAUS. I H. IV., 2, 10). [4] Sine stipatu famulantium. —CHRON. GILES, 10. [5] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., I, 19. Spelt "Shelle," in INQ. POST MORT., 1 H. IV.; called "Sir Thomas Shelle," in EXCH. TREAS. OF RECPT. MISC., $\frac{24}{38}$; or "Shelleye," PAT., I H. IV., 5, 8; or "Schelley," CLAUS. 1 H. IV., I, 3. In PAT., 2 H. IV., I, 3, he is called Thomas Shelley, chivaler, qui adhesit Johi. nup. comiti Hunt. [6] PAT., I H. IV., 5, 16. [7] "In veste simplicis."—LEL., ii, 310.

house of a friend, John [1]Prittlewell, at Barrow Hall near Wakering, in the flats near Shoebury.

But by this time the hue and cry of the county was on him. Acting on the King's proclamation the men of Essex surrounded the house. [2]The Earl was captured while sitting at a meal and carried to Chelmsford. Here the mob would have despatched him but for the intervention of Joan de Bohun, [3]Countess of Hereford, who sent him under a strong guard to her fortress of Pleshy, and reserved him for the sweetness of private revenge.

This Countess of Hereford had had two daughters, both now dead. One of them, Eleanor, had been the wife of the ill-fated Duke of Gloucester, and since his death had lived as a nun at Barking. Her only son, Humphrey, had been shut up by King Richard in Ireland, and news had lately reached her of his untimely death. [4]Suspicions had been spread that the boy had been poisoned by Lord de Spenser. His mother did not long survive him, but [5]died broken-hearted on October 3rd, 1399. The younger daughter, Mary de Bohun, had been the [6]wife of King Henry, and was the mother of the young Princes and Princesses whose seizure and death had just been planned by Huntingdon and the rebel lords. The Countess of Hereford was moreover herself a sister of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the late Earl of Arundel, whose life had been sacrificed

[1] TRAIS., 275; MORANT, i, 305. [2] "And yat was taken at zour hous" (TRAIS., 270); "Sir John Holand was take in Essex, atte Putelwelle, in a mille" (variation of reading in GREG. CHRON., 102). [3] She was also Countess of Essex and Northampton. [4] USK, 140; GOWER, in POL. SONGS, i, 447. [5] See her monument in St. Edmund's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, beautifully figured, in SANDFORD, 231. PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 10 (dated October 28th, 1399) grants £10 per annum for life to Sibylla Beauchamp, late a servant of "our dear sister, Duchess of Gloucester, deceased." William Blake, another of her servants, received 4½d. per day for life.—PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 29 (November 5th, 1399). [6] The Countess is called "our dear mother" in PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 10, where Henry confirms to her the right of hunting and lodging on the parks of Hadley, Raleigh, and Inderby, in Rocheford, Essex; add PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 21 (November 5th, 1399), where she is granted the custody of Rochester Castle.

to Richard's vengeance. She was now the occupant of Pleshy Castle, the scene of the treacherous seizure of the Duke of Gloucester, her son-in-law, two years before, by King Richard, acting under the advice of the Earl of Huntingdon.

Once securely lodged at Pleshy, news was despatched to the King of the capture of the runaway Earl. Meanwhile, the turbulent Essex men were gathering round the castle, threatening and demanding the death of the traitor. The Countess needed little compulsion to give up her victim into their hands. In the evening of Thursday (January 15th), as the Earl was on his knees with his squire, he was suddenly bidden to prepare for death. His hands were bound. He was led across the bridge, through files of armed men, to the very spot where the Duke of Gloucester had been seized. A short bench was set up for a block, a headsman was extemporized [1]from among the Earl's own servants, and after much clumsy hacking his head fell. He died with edifying contrition, confessing his faults and repeating the customary responses of the Church. The people were touched by his patient dignity in the face of death, but the Countess would allow no pity; and, if the French account be true, the young Earl of Arundel, her nephew, who had arrived to take over the custody of the prisoner "alive or dead," reviled the victim for his father's murder, and for the treatment he had himself received when a prisoner in the Earl's castle at Reigate. The body was buried by the monks in the neighbouring college, but the head was sent to London, where with those of the other leaders in the rising it was fixed on a pole and stuck upon London Bridge, to [2]remain exposed "as long as it should last and endure." But in little more than a month

[1] CHRON. GILES, 10. Per plebeios et mechanicos.—USK, 41. [2] See writs in CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 13, 16. The same roll (m. 8) contains similar writs to the Sheriff of London to deliver up the head of the Earl of Kent (dated March 13th, 1400). The head of William Lescrope was not removed till November 4th, 1400.—CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 26.

(February 19th, 1400) it was taken down, restored to the Earl's widow and buried with the body at Pleshy. The Earl's goods were confiscated, suitable provision being made for the support of his three sons and daughters at the manor of [1]Dartington, near Totnes in Devonshire. His widow, Elizabeth, lost no time in repairing her loss. On February 18th, 1400, she [2]received an annuity of 1,000 marks from the King, her brother, and at once secretly married Sir John [3]Cornwall, a man of great bodily strength. At first an order was issued [4]committing "John Cornwaill" to the Tower. But in June, 1400, when Henry's enemies were gathering round him again, he was politic enough to [5]recognize the marriage, granting [6]subsequently a handsome allowance and the custody of the lands of the late Earl of Devon during the nonage of the rightful heir. Elizabeth herself died in 1426, and is [7]buried in the church of Burford in Shropshire.

Henry, meantime, had followed close on the retreating rebels and reached Oxford completely victor, without the loss of a single man. [8]The Earl of Rutland was in his company, and personally directed the despatch of troops, together with stores of shields and arrows, to Cirencester, Gloucester and Monmouth, against his old confederates. The King rested at the Carmelite monastery without the city, and here were brought to him the heads of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury, together with some thirty of the leaders of the conspiracy who had surrendered to the Bailiff at Cirencester. These had been bound and sent

[1] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 2 H. IV., MICH. (November 22nd, 1401), records payment of £14 13s. 4d. to Sheriff of Devon on their behalf.—Cf. *Ibid*, 1 H. IV., PASC. May 3rd. [2] CUSTOMS ROLL. London, 1 H. IV. PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 6, together with two silk couches, some tapestry, and a fur coverlet of minever (m. 3). [3] Called "the Green Cornwall," because he was born at sea, in Mount's Bay.—SANDFORD, 258. [4] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 4, April 6th, 1400. [5] ANN., 333. [6] *i.e.*, January, 1402.—ROT. PARL., iii, 483, 550; also December 12th, 1401.—PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 2. [7] See her epitaph in GOUGH, (iii, 78,) and portraits of herself and her husband in window of Ampthill Church, figured in SANDFORD, 259. [8] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., MICH., March 20th.

on foot to Oxford; and [1]after a short inquiry twenty-six of them, of whom [2]Robert Swallow was one, were summarily executed in the castle. Twenty-two others were condemned to death at the same time, and fifteen to outlawry; but these were all pardoned within a [3]month, being all of them persons of no consideration or importance, eleven of them being entered as servants of Sir Thomas Blount.

There is no need to dwell upon the story of the savagery of the execution of Sir Thomas Blount, told with elaborate detail in the French narrative. The executioner kneeling for pardon, the calm stoicism of the victim, the ungenerous taunts of the triumphant enemy are commonplace features of the scene, which do duty rather too often when repeated for two successive executions, within five pages of one another. The anatomy, however, is interesting. When the bowels are removed, the intestine is tied with a cord, "to [4]prevent the wind escaping from the heart." The comic element, also, is not wanting. The poor disembowelled man, seated on a bench before a roasting fire, roundly cursing his enemies and saying that it made him ill to look at traitors. When they ask him if he will drink, he says, "No, you have taken away the place to put it in, God be thanked." The whole story was compiled to excite hatred against Henry and the English, [5]and its exaggeration recoils upon itself.

The storm having thus suddenly gathered and burst, the air was cleared, and the King set out on his return journey to London. He sent the heads on before, [6]partly in sacks, partly slung on poles between men's shoulders," as a ghastly evidence

[1] "Per legem terræ nostræ morti adjudicatis."—RYM., viii. 165. [2] His wife, Christina, was allowed to keep his Manor of Lymington, in the New Forest.—PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 42 (February 12th, 1400). [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 33 (February 19th, 1400). [4] Modified a generation later into: "adfinque le vent n'entrast ou corps."—WAUR., 42. [5] Cf. a similar fiction to Henry's treatment of the Earl of Worcester, after the battle of Shrewsbury, in JUV., 426. [6] USK, 167 (an eye-witness).

of his success. These were received with music and sound of trumpet, and within ten days of his perilous ride for life King Henry re-entered his capital (Thursday, [1]January 15th). He was met by the Archbishop and a long file of Bishops and Abbots, who conducted him to St. Paul's, where Te Deum was sung in honour of his victory. By a mandate of the Archbishop special thanks were to be paid to the Virgin for her intervention in "rescuing the most Christian King from the fangs of the wolves and the jaws of wild beasts, who had prepared above our backs a [2]gallows mixed with gall, and hated us with a wicked hate."

The next day Henry made a triumphal progress through the city and was hailed with rapturous plaudits by the people shouting, "God preserve our Lord King Henry and my Lord the Prince!" Two short speeches he made, which are reported on the [3]authority of those who heard them. To the prelates he said: "Fine sight it were to see us all assembled thus, if all were true and loyal. But there are traitors among us, and I will gather up the tares and cast them out and set good plants in my garden, and my garden shall be all within my walls and ditches—unless some of you repent." To the people assembled in the fields on the following day he said: "My uncle (*i.e.*, the Black Prince) went not so forward nor so far in war but I (please God) will go further, or die in the attempt," and the people cried again: "God guard our King Henry, and God bless my Lord the Prince! Now will we wage war with all the world—except the Flemings."

Orders were at the [4]same time sent to every county through-

[1] ST. DEN., xx, 15, says January 17th. [2] "Ferculum felle mixtum," perhaps a dish of poison.—CONC., iii, 246. I am not sure that I have caught the Archbishop's meaning, but, in a moment of courtly enthusiasm, some allowance must be made for a little confusion in the exuberance of metaphor. [3] Ce disoient ceulx qui la estoient.—TRAIS., 93. [4] January 27th, 1400.—RYM.

out the kingdom, that all men liable to bear arms were to be held constantly in readiness to repel an expected invasion of the French, who were preparing fleets to attack the coast and Abbots, Bishops, and other ecclesiastical lords were required to array their tenants with those of the lay barons, to face the common danger. In South Wales the town of Pembroke had been allotted to Isabella as part of her dower, and it was feared that the French would make an effort to seize it. In the Council held [1]early in February, orders were issued to guard the castle of Pembroke, and other castles on the coast in its immediate neighbourhood, from the threatened invasion.

The Ex-Bishop of Carlisle, the Ex-Archbishop of Canterbury (Roger Walden), and the Abbot of Westminster had been arrested in London. The [2]Abbot was at first sent to Reigate Castle, but on the 25th of January he was transferred to the Tower, and was in his turn charged before the Commissioners. Maudeleyn the priest had been captured by a shepherd in the open country and sent to London, and others of the ringleaders stood yet for final examination. Commissions were issued to the [3]Earl of Warwick, Thomas Erpingham, Thomas Rempston, John Norbury, and the judges, to hold special courts of inquiry as to cases of treason in London and the neighbourhood; and the "benefit of clergy," specially confirmed in the recent Parliament, was now specially withdrawn, the King declaring that under the pressing sense of immediate danger, Churchmen should not be exempt from the jurisdiction of the Secular Courts. Accordingly, on Wednesday (February 4th) a court was held in the Tower of London, and seven of the leading persons accused of participation in the late rising were brought up for examination. They were charged with plotting against the life of the King, with proclaiming King Richard who had been justly

[1] Between February 2nd and February 8th.—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 108.
[2] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 19. [3] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 6.

deposed, and with attempting to bring the French into the country. All were declared guilty. Walden and the Abbot were soon again at liberty. The Ex-Bishop of Carlisle was condemned to death, but was for the present kept in custody in the Tower, where he remained for [1]some time a prisoner. In the meantime the Pope had translated him to another see, as Bishop of [2]Samothrace. On hearing this, Henry at once [3](March 15th, 1400) applied to the Pope to have him formally degraded and handed over to the secular arm, and so be proceeded against "summarily and squarely, without stir or form of trial," adding curtly that if "His Apostolic Blessedness" should refuse, His Apostolic Blessedness must not be surprised if he acted without permission in the matter. [4]After four months imprisonment the Bishop was quietly transferred to the charge of his old friend and fellow-conspirator, the Abbot of Westminster. [5]On the following November 28th, he received a full pardon, on condition of his holding himself in readiness to answer in the King's Court if further charged. [6]By March 4th, 1401, Henry had further relented. Hearing that the Ex-Bishop was very poor, and the church of "Samaston" had neither clergy nor christian people, he consented that the Pope might provide some more profitable benefice for poor Merks, if its value did not exceed 100 marks per annum. Accordingly, [7]in June, 1401, he received the prebend of Masham, in Yorkshire. On the [8]5th of November, 1401, he was able to report that he had "expectations" of benefices from the Pope up to 300 marks per annum, if he might accept. The King again relented and allowed this favour, together with a full pardon, on account of his great

[1] *i.e.*, till June 23rd (RYM., viii, 150), CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 5. CARTE (ii, 648) says till January 26th, quoting ROT. PLACIT CORAM REGE DE TERM HIL., 2 H. IV.; PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 29. [2] "Samastranensis."—ROY. LET., i, 66. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 116. Brachio baculari (? sæculari) tradendum. [4] RYM., viii, 150; CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 6. [5] RYM., viii, 165. [6] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 11. [7] ROY. LET., i, 66. [8] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 29, 33.

poverty and the expenses incurred in his barren translation. Two years later [1](November 19th, 1403) the King presented him to the living of Sturminster-Marshall, near Wimborne in Dorsetshire. He was never formally degraded, but remained in the country as a sort of journeyman or coadjutor Bishop, [2]taking ordinations and other routine work, where the regular diocesan was unable to attend; and so he ceased from troubling, and vanished from the scene.

Of the lesser conspirators, Sir Bernard Brokas and the two priests, Richard [3]Maudeleyn and William [4]Feriby, were [5]forthwith executed at Tyburn. The Bishop of Norwich (Henry de Spenser, uncle to the Ex-Earl of Gloucester) who had been arrested for complicity in the plot and delivered to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was [6]afterwards released and restored to his diocese, [7]probably through the influence of Sir Thomas Erpingham, with whom he had then been reconciled.

Similar enquiries were held by the King's justices throughout the country. At Huntingdon [8]Thomas Overton, Abbot of Croyland, and others were summoned to answer a charge of treason. The Abbot, however, was acquitted and allowed to return to his abbey. The good people of [9]Cirencester retained all the belongings of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury which were found in the town at the time of their arrest. They were further gratified by the issue of a [10]Commission to enquire into

[1] PAT., 5 H. IV., 1, 27. [2] *e.g.*, for William of Wickham, May, 1401, and at other times till his death in 1404.—LOWTH, 269, quoting REGISTRUM WICKHAM. [3] The whole of the goods of Maudeleyn were granted to Henry Bowet, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had a claim against him for 500 marks. [4] See an extract from the writings of William Feriby, in CHRON. GILES, 11-18, lamenting the fate of Richard, whom he treats as already dead: O mors crudelis, mundi honorem extinxisti! Rapuit nunc mors cui similem nequit reddere natura, &c., &c. [5] Sir John Shelley, the companion of the Earl of Huntingdon, is, by one account, executed with them. [6] USK, 42. [7] See the public reconciliation in Parliament, February 9th, 1401.—ROT. PARL., iii, 456. [8] HIST. CROYL. 495. [9] PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 36 (February 28th, 1400). [10] PAT., 1 H. IV. 5, 3 in tergo (February 25th).

the usurpations and encroachments on the part of the Abbot in their midst, while [1]the Bailiff, John Cosyn, received an annuity of 100 marks for life, [2]and four does from the forest of Bradon were to be presented to the townsfolk every year, to commemorate their loyal services for ever.

It will be remembered that after the judgment passed upon the late King Richard, he had been secretly removed from the Tower of London, by night, and transferred to the castle of Ledes, under the custody of [3]John Pelham. Soon afterwards he was sent to Henry's stronghold at Pontefract, where he was entrusted to the care of the steward, [4]Robert Waterton, and [5]Sir Thomas Swynford. Here all tidings of him were lost, and he was kept, in accordance with the terms of his sentence, in strict seclusion. Towards the close of January (1400) rumours were afloat that he was dead, [5]but of the manner of his death no certain tidings could be obtained. Two stories got abroad

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 24 (January 27th, 1400); PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., PASC. June 26th, to date from January 27th. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 39 (July 5th, 1400). [3] CHRON. GILES, 10. [4] Waterton was "the chief forester of Henry's Forest of Knaresborough," and was the first to receive him in Lincolnshire after his landing at Ravenspur.—See STONEHOUSE, Isle of Axholme, p. 445; also USK, 134. He was made Master of the Horse, November 26th, 1399 (PAT. 1 H. IV., 3, 11), with a grant of £40 per annum (PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 27), and manor lands in the neighbourhood of Spalding, in Lincolnshire (PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 17, November 28th, 1399). He was sent on an embassy to the Duke of Gueldres, April 20th, 1401 (RYM., viii, 190), where he is called "domicellus noster." He was trusted by Henry the Fifth (ORIG. LET., i, 6). In 1415 the Duke of Orleans was committed to his care at Pontefract (RYM., ix, 456. "Dilectum armigerum nostrum.") See his will (dated February 14th, 1426) and his tomb and effigy in Methley Church, in WHITTAKER AND THORESBY, Loidis and Elmete, i, 269.

[5] Thare wes he delyveret then
Tyl twa wele trowit famous men,
Swynburn and Wattertown,
Men of gud reputatioune.—WYNTOWN, ix, 20, 154.

For Sir Thomas Swynford, afterwards Governor of Calais, see TRAIS., Pref. lviii and lxxi, quoting PELLS ROLL, 1 H. IV; add USK, 41. "Victualium penuria domino N. Swynford ipsum tormentante." "[5] La cause comment ce fut ne par quelle incidence, point je ne la savoie au jour que j'ecrivi les chroniques."—FROIS., cxix.

and have been incorporated, [1]with reserve, in the contemporary chronicles. According to the one account Richard had heard of the total failure of his friends to accomplish his release and restoration; he then fell into despondency, refused food until he was past recovery, and so died of voluntary starvation. [2]This story has nothing improbable in it, and agrees with the best estimate that can now be formed of Richard's character, viz.: that he was fitful, impulsive, self-willed, and given to despondency. Mortified by disappointment, he may have given way to despair, and with his health already enfeebled by past excesses, and by the straightness of his confinement, he may have been unable to bear up against this utter failure of all his hopes.

The second story represented that he was starved to death by Henry, after lingering for fifteen days in agony, [3]some asserting that he tore his own flesh from his hands and arms to keep himself alive; "the foulest form of murder, and one unknown until then in our land." This charge was darkly [4]insinuated two years later by the Duke of Orleans, and was by Henry flatly denied. Three years afterwards it was again openly advanced by Archbishop Scrope, on the evidence of [5]common rumour, and was welcomed by all who regarded Henry as a usurper; but it has no direct authority to rest upon, and is at least not more probable than the other.

A third version has long been connected with the story, viz.: that Henry, before leaving London to take the field against the rebels, despatched Sir Peter Exton to Pontefract to kill Richard;

[1] "Ut fertur."—ANN. "Ut dicebatur."—EULOG. "As sum men say."—CAPGR. Secundum communem famam.—KIRKSTALL CHRON., COTT. DOMIT. xii, in USK, 158. [2] GOWER, writing in this very year, accepts this view. Solam deposcit mortem ne vivere posset Amplius, &c. — POL. SONGS, i, 452. [3] "J'ay tenu aucunes escriptures lesquelles disoient que lui mesmes mengea une partie de ses mains et de ses bras."—MS. 8323 BIBL. DU ROY., quoted in TRAIS., Introd. p. 50. [4] "Dieu scait par qui."—MONSTR., 1, 1, 9. [5] "Ut vulgariter dicitur."—ANGL. SACR., ii, 365.

that Sir Peter entered the room where Richard was seated in the castle, accompanied by seven men armed with bills; that Richard, seeing their purpose, seized an axe from one of them, rushed upon them, and killed four of them, being only overpowered by Exton, who mounted a chair, felled him with two blows on the head from his axe, and was then filled with the customary remorse when he found that the King was dead.

The details of the story are open to very strong suspicion. It was written after the events by a Frenchman, for circulation in France, with the [1]avowed object of creating hatred against Henry at a time when there was a strong irritation existing between the two countries. The writer was not in England at the time of Richard's death, and he was misinformed as to the place of his imprisonment. The story found its way into the chronicle of St. Denys, where it is reported on the authority of the man [2]"who made known the events to the King of France," but he knew so little of the facts that he reported that the murder took place in the Tower of London, and the burial at Poursay (Pontefract). No English chronicle contains the story until Caxton, except perhaps one obscure reference in Capgrave, neither of whom wrote till more than sixty years after the event, and Caxton only translates the French account. Sir Peter [3]Exton, Henry's reputed agent in committing the crime, is otherwise entirely unknown. But the strongest evidence by which to refute the story of Exton and the axe is afforded by

[1] Qu'il vueille brief prendre vengance,
Des grands maux et desconnoissance,
De l'oultrage et Injuste fait,
Que les mauvais Englois ont fait,
A leur Roy et a leur Royne.
CRETON, in ARCHÆOL., xx, 421.

Qui hæc regi Franciæ nota fecit.—ST. DEN., xx, 17. [3] There is a Nicholas Exton, M.P. and Fishmonger, Lord Mayor, 1387-8 (HERBERT, i, 42); also a Thomas Exton, of London, Goldsmith, who gives bail in 1403 (CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 21); and a John Exton, Clerk, presented to the living of Edlesborough, May 24th, 1403 (PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 22).

the condition of the skull of Richard itself, [1]which was examined towards the end of the last century, in its final burial place in Westminster Abbey, when "there did not appear any such marks of a blow or wound upon it as could at all warrant the commonly received history of this wretched King's unhappy end."

Another stream of tradition, inconsistent with all the preceding accounts, stated that Richard had escaped from Pontefract through the help of a priest who was in the service of Sir Henry Percy, and with the connivance of a yeoman of Robert Waterton; that he was set upon a horse and taken to Northumberland, and thence into "an isle of the see," where he was kept for a time and afterwards conveyed away into Scotland. But this and all similar stories are not authentic. All of them date from at least two or more years after the reputed death of Richard, when false Richards were abundant, and the Percies and the Scots had their own special reasons for spreading rumours such as these. All these inventions will be better dealt with in the sequel.

In the midst of the obscurity which enshrouds the subject it is impossible to vouch for details, but I think that the few known facts of undoubted authenticity all go to prove that Richard really died at Pontefract about the middle of January, 1400; and the fact that he died just at this time seems to point to a death by violence, less attributable to accident than design. Bearing in mind the events of the first fifteen days of January, with their dates as given above, let it be remembered that three remarkable entries stand on the Issue Roll of the Exchequer regarding the events of this winter, though we do not know the exact days to which they refer. [2]They were all enrolled by the same hand, under date March 20th, 1400, showing that the

[1] See Mr. King's account of his examination, in ARCHÆOL., vi, 315; also GOUGH, i, 165. [2] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., MICH., 12.

payments had been made before that day. They stand in the following order:

(a) To William Loveney, Clerk of the Great Wardrobe, sent to Pontefract Castle *on secret business*, by order of the King, 66s. 8d.

(b) To a Valet of Sir Thomas Swynford, coming from Pontefract to London, to certify to the King's Council of certain matters which concern the King's advantage *(de certis materiis commodum domini Regis concernentibus)* including the hire of one horse for speed *(festinationis causâ)*, 26s. 8d.

(c) To another Valet, sent from London on behalf of the Council to Pontefract Castle, to the guards and keepers of the body of Richard, late King of England, 6s. 8d.

It is certain that on January 29th the French King and his Council (having absolutely no motive for falsehood) signed a [1]document in which they refer to Richard as dead. [2]Three other letters of the same date, from Charles VI. to his ambassadors at Boulogne, refer to Richard in the same terms.

The French Court certainly believed that Richard was dead. The [3]ambassador Pierre Blanchet was to tell the English that news of his death had arrived, and the whole of the negociations for the return of Isabella proceed only on this assumption. [4]At the conclusion of them, in the summer of 1401, Richard is still described as dead.

In London, rumours of his death were prevalent in January, and these rumours were officially recorded at a meeting of the Council, which certainly took place [5]between February 2nd and February 8th, 1400.

[1] "Que dieu assoille."—RYM., viii, 124. [2] TRAIS., lviii; ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME. J. 649. ART., 23. [3] "Que l'on avait advis de la mort du Roy Richard."—See letter (dated January 29th, 1400) in THRES. DES CHARTRES, in REPT. ON FŒD., App. D. 66. [4] "Vitâ functo."—RYM., viii, 196; "Defuncti viri sui dum viveret."—RYM., viii, 198. [5] Not 24th, as Nicholas, wrongly quoting date in Rym.—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 111.

In discussing the probabilities of the case the various [1]modern writers have felt themselves to be at the outset engaged in an attack or defence of Henry's personal character. I am not concerned with this. Henry's character must be judged, if judged at all, by what we do know for certain of him during the publicity of a reign of thirteen years. In this opening episode nothing is proved; and if, in the estimate of some, he begins his reign with the suspicion of murder on his head, let us not conceal the fact, but remember that it is a suspicion only. He will then be to us in no worse a position than he stood in to his contemporaries. His enemies, both at home and abroad, repeatedly assailed him with secret insinuations and outspoken challenge that he was guilty of the blood of Richard, "that true Christian and Catholic King." He denied the charge on oath, but has left us nothing but his direct denial to prove his innocence. His countrymen, grateful for recent deliverance from Richard's criminal and reckless misgovernment, could do no more than state that Richard was dead, and that he died at such a time, viz.: in the very week when his friends were in rebellion in Berkshire, Oxford and Gloucester, when hasty proclamations to all the counties seemed to give a license to mob-law and violence; and the certain connivance of Henry at the open lawlessness in Cirencester, Bristol and Pleshy, must be read in direct connection with the secret events which took place simultaneously in his own strong castle at Pontefract.

The Council, seeing the danger likely to arise from the present uncertainty, met early in February and advised the King, who was at Eltham, that some steps should be taken in the face of the prevailing rumours. If Richard were alive, [2]("as

[1] See the discussions of WEBB *v.* AMYOT *v.* TYTLER *v.* DILLON *v.* WILLIAMS, together with the lesser luminaries losing themselves in vigorous personalities in the *Gentleman's Magazine.* [2] "A ce que l'en suppose."—ORD. PRIV. Co., i, 107.

was supposed") that strict measures should be taken to keep him in security, "according to the judgment of the lords" in the late Parliament; but that if he were dead, his body should be shown openly to the people, in order that they might have certain knowledge of his death. [1]Accordingly, the body was at once brought to London, and shown at the various places where it rested on the road. The last halt before entering London was at St. Albans, where it was probably seen by the chronicler, or "so much at least of the body as would be recognized, that is to say, from the brow to the throat." [2]Thence it was carried forward to London, the whole cost of the [3]carriage from Pontefract being charged at £80. It lay for two days in St. Paul's Church, where Henry attended a solemn service for the dead, bearing the pall, and [4]distributing 20s. amongst the poor. [5]Many of the citizens also were present, and occasion was taken to secure publicity by every means, that it might no more be doubted but that Richard was really dead. After two days the corpse was removed to the royal manor of Chiltern (or King's) Langley, in Hertfordshire, which had been a favourite residence of Richard during his earlier married life. Here it was handed over to the [6]Dominican (or Black) Friars, an order of monks whom Richard had specially befriended, and was privately buried, without display, in presence of the Bishop of [7]Lichfield and the Abbots of Waltham and St. Albans. [8]Liberal arrangements were made for 1,000 masses to be said in various

[1]Issue Rolls, February 17th. 100 marks to Keeper of Wardrobe for conveying Richard's body to London.—Ling., iii, 411. [2]On March 12th, says the French account, but this is probably a little too late. [3]Pells Issue Roll, 1 H. IV., Pasc., June 4th; *Ibid*, Mich., February 17th. [4]*Ibid*, Mich., March 20th. [5]It was seen by Hardyng.—Landsdowne MS. "In herse rial his corse lay there I se." [6]Pat., 1 H. IV., 2, 17 (dated October 17th, 1399), contains a confirmation by Henry of a grant of four casks of wine to the Friars at "Childerlangele." The grant had been first made in the time of Ed. III., at the instance of his wife, Philippa. [7]Called the Bishop of "Chester." Cf. also Ord. Priv. Co., i, 105, 200, 235. [8]Pells Issue Roll, 1 H. IV., Mich. (March 20th, 1400).

places, at the public expense, for the soul of Richard, "whose body is buried at Langley." The price charged for the whole amounted to £16 13s. 4d., from which we gather the interesting fact that the current price for each mass was just 4d.

As a consequence of the executions and confiscations, much valuable property was now placed at the disposal of King Henry, who judiciously distributed it amongst his own sons and the most devoted of his supporters. The castles, manors, and personal belongings of the Earls of Kent, Huntingdon, and Salisbury, and of the three knights John Blount, Bernard Brokas, and Ralph Lumley, together with their London houses, such as [1]"The Newe June" in Thames Street, or [2]"The Bell on the Hope" in Friday Street, were gradually parcelled out and bestowed away—even the [3]beds, bolsters, coverlets, curtains, worsted carpets, and pieces of arras being scrupulously scheduled and minutely accounted for. It is a gratifying evidence of the increasing humanity of the age that in every case sufficient provision was made for the children and widows of the ill-fated traitors; even the [4]mothers of Maudeleyn and Feriby, the priests, not being overlooked in the general distribution.

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 22. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 17. [3] *e.g.* PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 19.; CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 15. [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 36.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INVASION OF SCOTLAND.

THE proclamations which had been scattered broadcast over the country during the panic in the early days of January had more than served their purpose, and now that the rebellion had been crushed a fresh difficulty had arisen. Every man was accusing his neighbour of complicity in the rising; suspected persons were everywhere seized by excited mobs, their houses plundered, and themselves often beheaded without form of trial. The law was powerless, and in the general derangement private malice found vent in indiscriminate robbery and murder. In [1]London, the apprentices gathered in thousands, each gang under its own [2]"king," wearing badges in spite of the recent Statute against "liveries." [3]As late as April 13th, the Mayor of London had to be reminded to enforce the Statute, two months after it had been legally in operation. They [4]fought pitched battles in the narrow streets, where many were beaten, or kicked, or crushed to death. In the forest of Macclesfield, attacks had been made by armed bands from Stafford and Derby upon the supporters of Henry; some 700 head of cattle were carried off by the raiders, and on [5]October 26th and November 11th commissions were issued to enquire into the matter. [6]At Hellifield, in Yorkshire, the goods and chattels of Richard of Hellifield were attacked and destroyed, while he was away attending the Parliament, in October, in the service of the Earl of Northumberland. In [7]Warwickshire, Sir William Beau-

[1] RYM., viii, 139, April 24th; USK, 44. [2] Cf. the military clubs in the Flemish towns.—MOTLEY, 46. [3] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 19. [4] ANN., 332. [5] PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 13, and 2, 5. [6] *Ibid*, 3, 5 in tergo. [7] *Ibid*, 5, 4, February 16th, 1400.

champ complained that attacks were made on his property and servants, so that none dared go about their ordinary business. [1]In Devonshire, armed bands broke into the houses on the property of Sir Robert Chalon, at Cockington, carried off his horses, cut down his woods, and beat his servants; while a clerk, [2]Walter Levenant, was beaten at Littleham, near Exeter. At Frome, in Somersetshire, similar lawlessness prevailed; at [3]St. Briavels, in Gloucester, large quantities of arms and arrows were carried off from the castle with impunity; [4]mobs assembled in Bristol, Oxford, Gloucester, [5]York, and [6]Hereford; and highway robbery was frequent on the roads leading into London. The neighbourhood of London was no safer than the distant provinces. At Watford, an armed band under Richard Hampton, of Bushey, lay in wait for travellers, so that the Bailiff could not go abroad without a [7]guard.

To meet this danger fresh orders were issued to Sheriffs of Counties and Justices of the Peace, requiring them to prevent dangerous meetings, or to put them down with all the force at their disposal. [8]All persons against whom charges were laid were to be brought directly under the cognisance of the King and the Council. Certain persons of established position were to be nominated in each county, who were to be specially responsible for keeping the peace, and who would receive a grant of money annually, to be paid out of the proceeds of the estates lately forfeited by the rebel lords or their adherents. At the same time it was specially provided for the greater security of the King, that the members of his household should be armed and arrayed to watch over his person at night, and that certain esquires and archers should be appointed in each county, to guard his lodgings whenever he travelled about.

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 6, 37. [2] *Ibid*, 7, 9. [3] *Ibid*, 6, 42. [4] *Ibid*, 7, 25 in tergo. [5] *Ibid*, 8, 12. [6] *Ibid*, 8, 15. [7] PAT., 2 H. IV., 5. [8] RYM., viii, 124, February 8th, 1400.

This body-guard was to be paid at the King's own expense, and it was expressly arranged that its members should pay strictly for all provisions supplied to them from the neighbourhood, when they were required on duty. Lastly, a [1]general pardon was granted for all participation in the insurrection, or other acts committed in connection with it, up to February 2nd. Certain leaders were to be excepted, but even these might make their peace by appearing before the King and suing for pardon, before March 1st. The whole of the county of Chester, as a specially lawless district, was excepted from the terms of the pardon, but in view of the troubles on the Scottish border the [2]Council soon extended its clemency to this county also.

But the country was in imminent danger from external war. The two ambassadors [3]who had been sent to France at the end of the preceding November, had carried with them letters from Henry to the French King, referring gratefully to the kind treatment he had lately received when in exile, and making offer of alliance and intermarriage as authorized by the terms of their commission. To this letter the French King returned no answer, while his action in the meantime was tending more and more towards an open breach. He [4]strengthened the fortresses on the border of Picardy and Boulogne. He closed the river Somme at Abbeville, and forbade all intercourse with English traders. He collected a fleet at Harfleur, under the command of the Count of St. Pol, and was preparing to make a descent on the coasts of South Wales, intending to seize the [5]castles of Pembroke and Tenby, which had been given to his daughter Isabella on her marriage with Richard, in terms of the treaty of 1396. At the same time the Duke of Bourbon was sent southwards to encourage disaffection in that strip of coast country, between the Garonne and the mountains, which

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 107-113. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 42. [3] CRET., 412. [4] FROIS., iv, 319. [5] See PAT., 20 R. II., p. 1., quoted in TRAIS., 168.

still remained a possession of of the English crown. It was still called Aquitaine, though sadly [1]shrunken from the old limits, which once stretched from the Pyrenees to the Loire. The Duke remained at [2]Agen, just on the skirts of the English district, but his influence was felt at Bordeaux (Richard's birthplace), where the news of the revolution in England was received with mixed feelings.

Messages were also sent to Dax and Bayonne, which had lately been the scene of riots between the Bishop's men and the townsmen. Negociations were opened and promises made. Deputations from the three towns visited the Duke at Agen, and for a time there seemed a probability of the province passing out of English hands for ever.

But delay brought reflection, and the trading towns valued their exemption from French taxes and their gains from commerce with the English; so that when the English Admiral, the Earl of Worcester, arrived in the harbour of Bordeaux, with 200 men-at-arms and 400 archers, [3]in the middle of March, he found no difficulty in quelling the spirit of disaffection, and the province remained loyal to the English crown. At [4]Bayonne a revolution had occurred. The English allegiance had been renounced, prominent citizens had been elected to fill the offices of the government, and those who held letters patent from Henry were arrested and imprisoned. The citizens then seized upon the citadel, but after a while dissensions broke out among themselves. The town was easily recovered in the autumn of 1400, and most of the leaders of the movement subsequently received a full pardon.

1 Charles VI. tint déja beaucoup plus en Aquitaine que ne faisait pas le Roy Richard son gendre.—DUCHESNE, 795. 2 Not Angiers, as HALLE, 15. Agen was claimed as within the Duchy of Aquitaine, and Henry had appointed a Prefect, viz.: Pontius, Lord of Castelhon, October 25th, 1399. —PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 2. 3 FROIS., iv, 315. 4 RYM., viii, 183 ,March 14th, 1401.

While these dangers were threatening from without, communications were passing between Scotland and the Court of France with a view to giving Henry full occupation in his own country. In every way, however, the French abstained from open war, and on January 29th, 1400, when news of Richard's death had arrived in France, a proclamation was issued from Paris, announcing that the French King had no intention of withdrawing from the provisions of the treaty made three years before, according to which he might now claim that his daughter should be returned to him, and with her the dowry she had brought to England. The significance of this proclamation will be altogether misread, if we interpret it to mean that "a [1]truce was signed with France in January, 1400." It really [2]implies no more than that Charles would have the right at any time to make war upon Henry as an usurper, and not the rightful King. Four French ambassadors had been appointed to treat between Boulogne and Calais with [3]"those of England." They were not to speak of Henry as "king," but as "the lord who has sent you," or "your lord," and the ambassadors were to be styled "envoys sent on the part of England."

On February 16th, [4]an understanding was come to that ambassadors from both sides should meet at Lenylngham within ten days, and subsequent meetings were arranged for March 19th and June 28th.

But Henry was cautious and alert. He strengthened his supporters in Bordeaux and secured obedience to the law in Bayonne; [5]at first appointing a commission of four persons to govern the country in his name, and afterwards sending his

[1] As Nicholas.—Ord. Priv. Co., i, 117. [2] As Tillet, 313. [3] Ceux d' Angleterre." "Le seigneur qui vous a envoyez ou vostre seigneur." "Messages envoyez de la partie d'Angleterre."—Thres. des Chartres, in Rept. Fœd., App. D, pp. 66-67; see also Tillet, 122. [4] Tillet, 121. [5] May 11th.—Rym., viii, 142.

cousin, the Earl of [1]Rutland, from his command in the [2]Channel Islands, with 100 men-at-arms and 1000 archers, as his Lieutenant into Aquitaine, to counteract the influence of the Duke of Bourbon. The Earl of Rutland remained Lieutenant of Aquitaine until the [3]close of the following year. He was rapidly recovering all his previous [4]wealth and influence, but the [5]expenses which he incurred in payment of his troops remained unpaid as late as October, 1404.

To the governor of Calais, Sir Peter Courtney, the King sent directions [6]to keep him informed of the movements of the French in his neighbourhood. A good look-out for French vessels was kept in the Channel. Commissions had been issued about the [7]middle of December to the southern counties, to prepare to resist invasion. The castles of [8]Pembroke, Tenby, Kilgarran, and other strong places on the coast of Wales, were placed under the charge of Sir William Beauchamp and carefully guarded. [9]Dover Castle was stocked with ammunition and abundance of provisions, and Southampton was placed under the charge of [10]Ivo de Fitzwarren, with orders to repair and strengthen the fortifications with stone from the quarries in the [11]Isle of Wight. The walls and towers of [12]Winchester, [13]Scarborough and Newcastle were to be repaired, and the channel of the port of [14]Winchelsea was to be cleared of stones and sand. In an appeal to the Clergy for help in men and money, dated January 27th, the French are spoken of [15]indirectly as enemies collecting large fleets to threaten the coast.

At a Great Council held at Westminster, [16]February 9th, 1400,

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 118. [2] May 10th, 1400.—RYM., viii, 140. [3] *i.e.*, after September 18th, 1401.—RYM., viii, 224. [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 5, February 20th, 1400. [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 547. [6] RYM., viii, 120. [7] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 35, December 18th. [8] *Ibid*, 4, 21, November 29th, 1399. [9] *Ibid*, 4, 29, December 10th. [10] *Ibid*, 5, 22, January 30th, 1400. [11] *Ibid*, 6, 25, February 17th, 1400. [12] *Ibid*, 7, 34, May 15th. [13] *Ibid*, 7, 39, May 5th. [14] *Ibid*, 8, 39, May 12th. [15] "Licet indirecte."—RYM., viii, 123. [16] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 102.

it was announced that the Scots were still burning and raiding on the Border, and preparing to invade the north with the help of the King of France. A messenger was present from Calais with letters from the envoys, showing that no progress had yet been made in negociations, but that war was in every way probable. Money was urgently needed, but in view of the state of the country it was decided not to impose further taxation on boroughs and counties, which could only be legally done by calling together a Parliament. In this emergency the Lords present agreed for themselves and others of their Order to furnish, in all haste, contributions in money, ships, and men, to be maintained by them and put at the King's disposal for the next three months; while the Clergy, who had been specially exempt from taxation at the recent Convocation, were as land-owners to contribute one tenth of their possessions in lieu of personal service. It was understood, however, that this should be considered as a loan or advance, and that those who contributed now should be entitled to abatement to the same amount, when next the Convocation, duly called, should vote the tax in the customary manner. [1]This action of the Council has been quoted as evidence of great enthusiasm on the part of the nation for war with France and Scotland, but the details of the sitting do not bear out this view. The Clergy, under the influence of Archbishop Arundel, agreed to pay a share of the necessary cost of defence, from which they had been lately exempted, and even then only on the understanding that the money was an instalment in advance, to be placed to their credit at the next meeting of Convocation. At [2]St. Albans the demand was conceded with some grudging. The lay lords who contributed were only eighteen in number, all partisans of Henry and interested in his success; and even their contri-

[1] ROY. LET., xviii. [2] ANN., 332. The order to the Abbot is dated April 21st, 1400.—CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 19.

butions in men produced no more than 106 men-at-arms and 272 archers for service on land, together with ten ships fully equipped, each manned by 20 men-at-arms and 40 archers, for service at sea.

The envoys who had crossed to France had not yet been able to advance beyond Calais. Two more were now added to the list [1](February 19th), viz.: William Heron, Lord de Saye, and Richard Holme, a lawyer from the province of York. Fresh commissions were issued, but this time the envoys were accredited to "our adversary of France," who is no longer "our dearest cousin." On [2]March 16th, Henry made a declaration of his desire to abide by the peace of 1396, similar to the proclamation of Charles dated January 29th. But of real progress there was none, and after the interchange of one or two communications, a Herald, who had entered French territory to request admission for the English envoys, was seized and detained as a prisoner by the King of France.

Meanwhile, no answer had yet been received from the Scotch King to Henry's proposal [3](already related) that representatives of both nations should meet at Kelso on January 5th, to treat for a renewal of the truce, which had expired on the previous Michaelmas Day. On November 20th, a Council met at Linlithgow, and February 10th was appointed as the day on which the next [4]Parliament should meet at Holyrood. King Robert went north to Scone, where Henry's letter did not reach him till January 4th, just one day before the date proposed for the meeting of the representatives at Kelso. But even then the Scotch King showed himself in no hurry to continue the negociations, and it was not till ten weeks later (after the meeting of the Parliament in Edinburgh) that he

[1] RYM., viii, 128. [2] TILLET (Guerres), 107. [3] Page 82. [4] No record remains of this Parliament. I incline to think that the Parliament which met at Scone on "Monday, February 21st," was held in 1401, not 1400, as in ACTS OF PARLIAMENT, SCOT., i, 213.

made reply. In his answer he excused himself for not having sent representatives to meet Henry's commissioners at Kelso, repeating that he must be previously assured that they would be empowered to grant restitution for damage committed during the preceding truce, and urging that the usual meeting place for conferences of the kind was at Haudenstank, just on the Border line, and that this would be a better place for negociating than Kelso. [1]This letter was written by King Robert on March 14th, but before it could be received other communications from Scotland were engaging the attention of the English Council.

It is more than likely that these delays were intentionally protracted by the Scots at the instigation of the French Court; so that, if war were to be really opened between France and England, the North might be exposed to attack by the Scots, while the French should land at some convenient points on the Southern or Western coasts. At the Council held at Westminster on February 9th reports came in, as we have seen, of outrages, raids, and harryings on the Border, and that the Scots were preparing for a general invasion with the help of the French.

Simultaneously with this, however, came news of another kind from the same quarter. George of Dunbar, Earl of the March of Scotland, had taken offence at the Scotch King, because the young Duke of Rothsay, the heir apparent to the throne, [2]had rejected his daughter, to whom he had been formally betrothed, and had married [3]Marjory, the daughter of his rival, Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas. Loyalty sat lightly in those days on the great nobles, when brought into competition with personal dignity and interest, and forthwith

1 Roy. Let., i, 23. 2 "The quhilk spousit my douchter, and now, ageyn his oblisyng to me, made be hys lettre and hys seal and agaynes the law of Halikirc spouses ane other wife."—Roy. Let., i, 23. 3 Scotichron., ii, 429.

the Earl of March sent across a letter to King Henry, claiming cousinship, [1]as their grandmothers had been sisters, and asking that he might have safe-conduct to the Border, there to meet with the Earl of Westmoreland, or his brother, Lord Thomas Nevil of Furnival, [2]who was already in charge of Annandale and the castle of Lochmaben. His wish was that he "might schew clerly myne entent; the quhilk I darre nocht discover to nane other but till ane of thaim." The safe-conduct was readily granted. The Abbot of Alnwick was despatched to London with a further letter, in which the Earl of March agreed to give up his son Gawein and one of his daughters as hostages for his good faith, expressed himself ready to renounce his allegiance to the King of Scotland, and asked Henry to help him to obtain redress for his wrongs. [3]The Earl of Westmoreland was commissioned to conduct the negociations, requiring that he should give further security, in the form of a bond, that he would not enter into treaty or covenant with the King of Scots, that he would be ready to put Dunbar or one of his castles at the disposal of the English, and that in return he should receive 1,000 marks per annum for six years, with promise of a further allowance of money, if he continued to prove himself faithful to the interests of England. A further [4]safe-conduct was issued, extending to September 29th, as the Earl expressed a desire to confer personally with the English King; and on July 25th, 1400, he entered into the required bond, promising to withdraw his homage from [5]Robert, "that pretendes hymself King of Scotland," and agreeing in all things to Henry's conditions, provided that he showed himself in Scotland within fourteen days, or by the Feast of the Assumption (August 15th).

Similar negociations led at the same time to a correspondence

[1] Henry calls him "our very dear cousin," in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 135. [2] ROT. SCOT., October 23rd, 1399. [3] See instructions (dated March 13th) in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 114. [4] RYM., viii, 149. [5] RYM., viii, 153.

with [1]John, Lord of Dunowaig (in Islay) and the Glens, and Donald his brother, Lords of the Isles, the wild region to the west of Scotland, with its mixed Norse and British population, nominally subject to the Scottish King. Earlier in the year a messenger had left London [2]for "the Out-isles between England and Scotland," and a [3]safe-conduct into England for Donald, with his brother John, was issued (June 2nd), to last for six months, if necessary. Of his visit (if it ever was made) we have no information, but communications were for some time kept up, and an entry in the Issue Roll, [4]dated March 27th, 1401, refers to the expenses of a messenger bearing letters from the Council to "John of the Isles."

For the moment, negociations with France were at a stand-still, and the ambassadors (or at least three of them) returned to England; but although the herald had been detained, and the coasts were still [5]threatened by a French fleet, yet Henry was in no mood to hasten matters with France, while Scotland offered so tempting an opening for his immediate energies.

Nor were the French themselves really anxious for war. Their King had lately lost his [6]eldest son, Charles, at the age of ten years, and he longed to have his daughter restored to him, and with her the money and presents that he claimed as belonging to her. By the marriage treaty, signed in March, 1396, the French King was to pay as a provision for his daughter 800,000 francs, viz.: 300,000 at once, and the rest in five yearly payments. It was stipulated that, if King Richard should die before the marriage was consummated, all except the 300,000 francs should be refunded, and that Isabella should be restored to her father with all that belonged to her, including

[1] Rot. Scot., ii, 155. [2] Pells Issue Roll, 1 H. IV., Pasc. May 31st. [3] Rym., viii, 146. [4] Pells, 2 H. IV., Mich. [5] April 21st, 1400.—Rym., viii, 138. [6] He died December 29th, 1399, and was buried at St. Denys.—Tillet, Receuil, 229.

the [1]presents made to her (chiefly by Englishmen) at the time of her marriage.

Accordingly, [2]two French envoys crossed to England, bearing a message to "him who calls himself King of England," warning him that the King of France would not consent to any word or act being attributed to his daughter which might seem to give her consent to remaining in England, and at the same time [3]intimation was sent to the Scots that the French King found it very difficult to communicate with them, as Henry had command of the sea.

[4]About the middle of May, the Council notes record that a calmer consideration had been given to the demands of the French King. A declaration was publicly made again that [5]Henry intended to abide by the terms of the treaty of 1396; and the Council agreed that, as the treaty had not been repudiated on either side, the English King was bound to give up Isabella to her father, with her jewels and possessions, but they still did not abandon the hope that some other arrangement might be made, "by way of marriage or otherwise." They required that communications should be directly addressed to the English King, for as yet Charles would take no open steps to acknowledge Henry as King of England at all. They agreed that all the money already paid by the French King as a provision for his daughter should be repaid, except the first 300,000 francs, which, in terms of the treaty, were not to be reclaimed in any case; but in regard to the castle of Pembroke,

[1] See the list of them in TRAIS., Addend. 2, p. 108. [2] April 6th, 1400, not 1401, as WILLIAMS.—TRAIS., lxiv; CRET., xix, 415; JUV., 419. Given as September 6th, 1400, in THRES. DES CHARTRES, 69. [3] TRAIS., lxiv, quoting ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME J. 649 ART. 12, April, 1400, more probable than 1401. [4] RYM., viii, 142, May 18th. This date seems altogether more probable than the month of March, suggested by Sir H. Nicholas.—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 117. [5] Dated May 18th, 1400, in TILLET. Receuil des Traictez, 107-121, quoting TRESOR LAYETTE M. TREVGÆ ANGLIÆ.

and certain lands and manors in England, which were to have been given to Isabella as a dower, they declared that, as she was not yet of full age, the dower could not be considered as due, and therefore was not to be reckoned as part of her personal belongings.

On [1]May 28th, three members of the previous embassy started from London, with retainers, on a "secret embassy to the King of France, in Picardy." They were invested with full powers to negociate concerning the restoration of Isabella, and to make [2]peace and an alliance, as circumstances should permit, with "our dearest cousin of France." They were absent till August 6th, and for the present the negociations are lost sight of, though the French fleet still kept watch in the Channel and [3]threatened English coasting ships, while Henry at once took advantage of the summer season to punish and overawe the Scots.

In the treaty of 1396, the King of Scotland and his subjects appear as allies of the French King, and as parties bound by the terms of the treaty. Having now succeeded in separating the interests of the French and the Scotch, Henry at once [4](May 24th) forwarded a message to the Scotch King, informing him that the treaty of 1396 was still in force, and calling upon him, as one of the parties to it, to require his lords, officers, and subjects to swear to observe it; and demanding due reparation for all damage committed in infraction of it, with a threat that, if his commands were not complied with, the Scots would be excluded from all benefits of the treaty. Without awaiting the Scotch King's reply, he issued orders to the Sheriffs of Counties [5](June 9th), summoning all who owed [6]service to the crown to

[1] Foreign Roll, 1 H. IV., gives their expenses, May 28th-August 6th; add Juv., 418. [2] Tillet, 122. [3] See letter (dated June 14th, 1400) in Ord. Priv. Co., i, 120. [4] Rym., viii, 144. [5] Rym., viii, 146; Claus. 1 H. IV., 2, 16. [6] Queen Isabella and her attendants were specially excused from answering this summons.—Ord. Priv. Co., i, 121.

meet him in arms at York, on the following Midsummer Day (June 24th). He then proceeded north in person, [1]resting at St. Albans for Ascension Day, and was at Clipstone, in Sherwood Forest, on [2]June 14th, from whence he addressed letters to his Council in London. On the 21st, he was at Pontefract, where he signed a [3]safe-conduct for the Scotch Earl of March, and on the following day [4](June 22nd), he arrived at York.

[5]On the 29th of May, four shipowners of Lynn, viz.: John Brandon, William Gideney, Thomas Trussebut, and Robert Bremham, had been permitted to employ their vessels (the "Trinity," the "Gabriel," and the "Holy Gost") in acts of war against the Scots and the Frisians, who were understood to be preparing a great fleet against England. The permission was eagerly seized. Brandon and his friends sailed northward, and were soon at work. Not far from Berwick they fell upon a Scotch vessel, and made two notable captures: Sir [6]Robert Logan, the Scottish Admiral, who was preparing to attack the English herring boats, when they made their annual visit to the coast of Aberdeen; and David Seton, Archdeacon of Ross, a secretary of King Robert, who was bearing despatches to the King of France. Both prisoners were forwarded to London, and lodged in the [7]Tower, and in due time the King acknowledged the services of the Lynn rovers by a reward of 500 marks. Privateers from [8]Hull, under John Tutbury, were likewise commissioned to attempt similar adventures.

At York, Henry received a message that the King of Scots was willing to treat for peace on the basis of the treaty made in

[1] ANN., 332. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 120. [3] ROT. VIAG., 35. [4] RYM., viii, 186. [5] PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 24. [6] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 2 H. IV., MICH. (November 22nd, 1400.) ANN., 332, has "Thomas Lagon"; but, in WALS., ii, 246, the name is correctly given as "Dominus Robertus Logon." [7] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 8 (dated March 8th, 1401) contains order for transferring "Sir Robin Logg" and David Seton (clerk) to the custody of the Earl of Northumberland. [8] ROT. VIAG., 29 (dated Pontefract, June 21st).

1328, between Edward III. and Robert Bruce, whereby the English King had recognized the complete independence of the kingdom of Scotland, and resigned for himself and his successors all claim whatever to the Scottish crown. Under ordinary circumstances, such a message would probably only have had the effect of irritating the English King still further, and impelling him instantly forward. Orders had been issued in ample time; the 24th had been appointed as the mustering day; the troops were at their posts; the King was ready; the Earl of March was continuing his treasonable correspondence; the Scotch were defiant; but at the last moment it was discovered that money was wanting, and provisions were altogether insufficient; and for seven precious summer weeks the whole army was doomed to inactivity. Under these circumstances two Commissioners, [1]Alan Newark and John Mitford, were named to treat with the Scotch King, if opportunity arose; but they were [2]instructed to accept nothing less than reparation and redress for injuries done by the Scots during the previous nine months. Fruitless messages continued to be interchanged. On the [3]2nd of July, two Scotsmen, John Merton, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, and Adam Forster, a friend of the Duke of Albany, had been deputed to arrange either a peace or a truce with England; and a safe-conduct for them with a large retinue was issued on the 8th of July. On [4]July 4th, Henry wrote to his Council, calling upon them urgently to issue writs to the Mayors of London and other ports on the East coast, that wine, flour, wheat, hay, oats, and other necessaries should be bought up on the security of the customs of the ports, and forwarded without delay to the mouth of the Tyne, thence to be sent to [5]Newcastle, Holy Island, and Berwick, as occasion should

[1] ROT. VIAG., m. 35, dated York, June 26th. [2] See instructions in ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 41, which seem to refer to this period. [3] ROT. VIAG., 35 (York, July 2nd, 8th). [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 122. [5] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 2 H. IV., MICH., December 4th.

require. [1]Horses were to be sent on for the army in Scotland. The Cinque Ports were bound to supply 57 armed ships when called upon, but they could claim 40 days notice. This notice could not now be allowed for. On the 24th July, they were required to send 20 vessels, each armed with 40 men, to be at Newcastle-on-Tyne by [2]August 4th. The lawyers were to look up the terms of the treaty of 1328, if they could find any "remembrances or evidences" of it, and the Treasurer and the Keeper of the Privy Seal were to raise what money they could in London, on the security of the crown jewels and other royal property, and to bring the proceeds with all speed to the North. On [3]July 15th, the Keeper of the Chancery Rolls delivered to the Treasurer such records as related to the submission of the Kings of Scotland, and the Treasurer had them [4]packed in chests, and took them northwards to the King.

In the meantime the army must be fed, and [5]loans and advances were begged in all directions from the Northern towns, and from all churchmen and laymen who were willing to lend. On the [6]23rd of June, John Arnold was sent with letters, begging loans from the wealthiest of the Bishops, Abbots, and Priors. [7]The Bishop of Winchester lent £500; [8]the Bishop of Hereford, £47; the Abbot of Malmesbury, £30; the city of [9]York supplied 1,000 marks; Hull, £200. But the [10]Londoners showed no great readiness to forward supplies. A fleet was preparing under Richard Clitheroe, but as late as [11]July 26th the Sheriffs had to be warned against

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 28, July 18th. [2] The day after the Invention of St. Stephen. — CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 5. [3] See the list in EXCH. TREAS. OF RECEIPT, MISC., $\frac{25}{7}$ They refer to the submission of John, King of Scotland, with specified dates in reigns of Ed. III. and R. II. [4] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 2 H. IV., MICH. (November 22nd, 1401) contains payment to John Ashham for packing them. [5] RYM., viii, 152. [6] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., PASC., June 26th. [7] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 28, July 23rd, 1400. [8] RECEIPT ROLL, 1 H. IV., PASC., May 17th, 1400. [9] RYM., viii, 152. [10] EULOG., iii, 387. [11] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 6.

further delays. On the 20th of July, the Mayor of York, with the Archbishop and the Abbot of St. Mary's, formed themselves into a committee, to arrange for raising [1]further loans. Thus valuable time was passing, and it was the end of July before Henry could move northwards, or his much-needed provisions be convoyed to the Tyne. Moreover, such provisions as were forwarded were not free from danger on the road, and we have at least one instance recorded of a convoy being plundered by Lincolnshire men, at [2]Scartho and Tottenay, in the neighbourhood of Great Grimsby.

At length, all being in readiness, the army passed through [3]Durham, and reached [4]Newcastle by July 25th, where the King issued an [5]order that young bucks were to be sent from all the royal forests, parks, and chaces. But by this time the year was too far gone for any hope of a successful campaign, if the Scots remained firm and unterrified by its near approach. The expedition was altogether too late. It had been contemplated, probably at the instance of the Percies, far earlier in the year; but the fear of a French invasion, and the slow progress of the negociations in that quarter, had kept the attention of the King and his Council fixed on the defence of the Capital and the Southern coasts. When at length the decision was taken to move northwards, the real opportunity had slipped, and although Midsummer had been appointed for the campaign, yet nothing was ready, and harvest was upon them before anything serious had been begun. Moreover, the year was one of excessive rain, lasting from May till the end of November, and a grievous epidemic, [6]accompanied by great

[1] ROT. VIAG., 33. [2] PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 5. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 124. [4] ROT. VIAG, 33, 34; ROT. SCOT., ii, 153; VEN. STATE PAPERS, 40; PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 10. [5] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 12. [6] Magna caristia frugum.—WORC., 451. EVES., 171. This was the jubilee year at Rome, when multitudes of pilgrims died. Regna très grand mortalité universelle.—MONSTR., 1, c. iii.

scarcity, prevailed all over the country. Added to this came news that the garrisons in [1]Berwick and Roxborough were showing discontent and threatening to desert their posts.

Yet with all these causes for hesitation the King would not give pause. His resolution even seemed to gather strength with the increase of his difficulties. No answer had been given to his demand for restitution by the Scotch King, and in spite of the lateness of the season he determined to advance. He strengthened his garrisons in the [2]Border castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, Carlisle, Harbottle, Jedburgh, Lochmaben, and Norham, arranging that pay should be provided for all extra troops thus serving for three months, and he entered into a bond with the [3]Earl of March that he should transfer his allegiance from King Robert to himself. The King of England granted his [4]protection to the Earl and his wife Christiana, with seven of their children—George, Gawein, Colin, Paton, John, David, and Elizabeth; the Earl on his side undertaking to admit English troops to his castle of Dunbar, and to leave his son Gawein in Henry's hands, as a hostage for his fidelity. Henry was even led to believe that, if he put on a bold face, and advanced with force enough, other Scots nobles would follow the example of the Earl of March; and, full of this hope, he suddenly introduced a new complication into the quarrel.

Instead of claiming, [5]as he had previously done, that his object was to demand restitution, or exact punishment for damage done on the English border in violation of the treaty

[1] ROT. VIAG., 35, dated Newcastle, August 6th. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 124, 135. [3] RYM., viii, 153. [4] ROT. VIAG., 33 (Newcastle, August 4th). There was also a daughter, named Columba, who subsequently came in for some clerical patronage on account of her father's treason.—PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 15; PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 1. [5] So late as July 11th, the semi-official account describes the expedition as undertaken "pro defensione regni sui."—ROY. LET., i, 39.

with the King of France, he suddenly, and without any warning, revived the [1]long-forgotten claim of overlordship, so unfortunately taken up by Edward I., but of necessity abandoned after the disaster at Bannockburn.

Having entered into an agreement with the Earl of March that he would be in Scotland to receive his homage by August 15th, Henry [2]forthwith drew up at Newcastle, on August 6th, a formal summons, in which, though he recognized Robert as King of Scots, he called upon him to do homage for his kingdom and its belongings; setting forth his claims in the accustomed phraseology, and furbishing up all the old, musty precedents, from Lucrinus, son of Brute, to the miserable captive Edward, son of John Baliol. He added that his purpose was to be in Edinburgh by the 23rd of August, where he should expect the Scotch King to meet him, for the purpose of submitting to this antiquated claim.

In similar terms he drew up a statement addressed to the leading nobles and ecclesiastics of Scotland; calling on them to meet him for a like purpose in Edinburgh, on the day named, and requiring them, on their allegiance to himself, to compel their King to submit to his demands.

These proclamations were to be published in the various Border towns and abbeys of [3]Kelso, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, and Melrose; and his messenger, already accredited to the Scottish King, was to proceed [4]"along the coast," and read the terms of the message, "in a loud and intelligible voice," at Edinburgh. But though the usual divisions reigned with unusual virulence amongst the Scottish leaders at the time,

[1] From EXCH. ROLL SCOT. (iii, Pref. lx) it appears that this claim had been revived in the time of Richard II. (January, 1384) as an alternative proposition in certain emergencies. In 1391 the same claims appear in a set of instructions "probably never issued," but preserved in VESPASIAN, F, vii, 29 (*Ibid*, lxxvi). [2] RYM., viii, 155. [3] ROT. VIAG., 36, dated Newcastle, August 7th, 1400. [4] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., PASC. September 25th, 1400.

none were found to recognize his claim, and this mischievous and false step recoiled to plague the inventor.

The letter was delivered to the Scottish King, and was answered by the [1]Duke of Rothsay in his name. As might be supposed, the Duke's reply treated the claim with contempt, comparing Henry in no complimentary terms to the robber who puts in his hook to another man's corn. He offered, however, in order to prevent unnecessary bloodshed, that 100, or 200, or 300 Scottish nobles were ready to meet the same number of English, and to submit their claims to the test of battle. This proposal has been described as [2]a "sally of youthful vivacity," but it was probably quite seriously made, and is in entire agreement with the spirit and customs of the time. It was declined, however, by Henry.

The English forces had in the meantime advanced from Newcastle. On the [3]8th of August, the King was at Felton, near Alnwick; and [4]on the 14th August, he crossed with his army into Scotland. On the following day (August 15th), he was at Haddington, and in three days more he had advanced without serious opposition to Leith. Here he issued a last formal [5]summons to the Scotch King. But the walls of Edinburgh did not fall before this ram's-horn blast, and August 23rd came and went without the required homage or recognition.

The Duke of Rothsay and the Earl of Douglas held out in Edinburgh, while the Duke of Albany was collecting a force at Calder. As the English troops moved, the Scots everywhere withdrew before them, carrying away everything with them, or burning and destroying what they could not carry away;

[1] See ballad by David Steele:—"The Ring (*i.e.*, Reign) of the Roy Robert," in WATSON'S Collection of Scottish Poetry. — PINKERTON, i, 57. [2] SIR W. SCOTT (in Hist. Scot., i, 235) adopting the very words of PINKERTON (i, 58). [3] ROT. VIAG., 31. [4] SCOTICHRON, ii, 430. [5] Dated August 21st, in RYM., viii, 158.—ROT. VIAG., 36.

[1]lurking about in the woods, falling upon and [2]mutilating stragglers, "doing us more harm than we them." [3]Provisions ran short; the army could not maintain itself; [4]desertions and losses thinned its numbers daily. [5]Urgent orders were despatched to the Admiral and the Cinque Ports to send vessels and men without delay. [6]On the 22nd of August, fresh orders were sent to Bristol, and fifteen other ports on the West and South, to send vessels to Scotland "by the Irish Sea;" but Henry did not wait for their arrival. After a futile attempt on the castle of Dalhousie, he was glad to make speedy terms with his enemy, and to withdraw from the country even faster than he had come. An interview was held, at the cross between Leith and Edinburgh, with Adam Forster, one of the Council of Regency, appointed under the influence of the Duke of Albany, in which the Scotch representative undertook that full [7]consideration should be given to the claim to overlordship; and with [8]these "many white words and fine promises" Henry was fain to be content. He crossed back into England on the [9]29th of August, and by [10]September 2nd he was again at Newcastle-on-Tyne, recalled to his own country by alarming news from the borders of Wales; bringing nothing from his Scottish raid but confusion and discredit, and leaving behind the seeds of bitterness, destined soon to bear their necessary fruit.

The Scots collected to pursue him, but the garrisons which were left to strengthen the Border castles were able to give a good account of themselves, and more than hold their own.

[1] Usk, 46. [2] Pat., 3 H. IV., 1, 13 (dated February 14th, 1402), grants 3d. per day to James Strette, who was mutilated (mahematus) at Edinburgh when in the King's service. [3] Eulog., iii, 387.

[4] Bot ilkè day of his oste he was tynand (*i.e.*, losing),
Quhile he wes in the land bidand.—Wynt., ix, 21, 6.

[5] Pat., 1 H. IV., 8, 12, August 22nd, 1400. [6] Claus. 1 H. IV., 2, 5. [7] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 169. [8] "Par pluseurs blanches paroles et bealx promesses." —Rot. Parl., iii, 487. [9] Usk, 46. [10] Pat., 1 H. IV., 8, 14.

In an affray at Redeswere, at the head of Redesdale, on [1]September 29th, Sir Richard Umfraville, who was then in command at Harbottle, routed a large Scottish force, killing 200 and taking many prisoners. John Hardyng, the rhyming chronicler, was present at this fray. [2]Among the prisoners were Simon Carter, John Turnbull, and three brothers, Gilbert, Alan and Richard Rutherford; the last a personal friend of the Duke of Rothsay. All of these were sent on to London, and lodged in the Tower or the Fleet Prison.

The interview with Adam Forster seems to have in some measure softened Henry's resentment and soothed his wounded dignity, and after the affair at Redeswere a readiness was shown on both sides to come to terms. Negociations were renewed, and by [3]November 9th, a truce had been arranged which should last for six weeks, in the hope that it might lead to a lasting peace. With this view the discussions were continued as late as [4]December 14th, 1400, [5]at which date the Earl of Northumberland was making urgent representations as to the danger which threatened the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle.

The Earl of March remained an exile in England. His castle of Dunbar was seized by his nephew, Sir Robert Maitland, and handed over to the young Earl of Douglas; but he received from Henry lands in England, in return for his professions of fealty. He long retained the confidence of the English Court, and in [6]June, 1401, he was granted the manor of Clipstone, in Sherwood Forest, for life, together with the castle of Somerton, in Lincolnshire, and [7]£100 per annum during the King's pleasure; while a year afterwards his son Gawein received an additional allowance of [8]£40 per annum in his own name.

[1] HARD., 356. Called "Robert Umfreville, Esquire," in CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 8. [2] Cf. RYM., viii, 162; USK, 46; CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 8, 25, 28. [3] RYM., viii, 166. [4] RYM., viii, 167. [5] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 4, December 24th, 1400. [6] RYM., viii, 205. [7] PAT., 2 H. IV., 4, 15, 16, June 28th, 1401. [8] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 8, March 10th, 1402.

CHAPTER VIII.

WALES.

WE have seen that earlier in the year the Council had been much exercised by the riotous and unsettled state of the country, which followed closely upon the abortive attempts of Richard's friends in the winter; and how, when a general pardon was offered to all who would sue for it before March 1st, a special exception was made in the case of Cheshire, as a lawless and disaffected district. But lawless as Cheshire was, it was at least a district where respect for the law could be secured, if attention were turned seriously to the task; and, therefore, when the King was on the point of starting for Scotland, the leniency which had been shown to law-breakers in other counties was in part extended to the Chester men, though they did not present themselves in the guise of penitents asking for pardon. [1]A very long list of persons, however, were specially excepted by name from the pardon; many of them being cutlers, tailors, goldsmiths, glovers, painters, shipmen, chaplains, mercers, or traders of equal respectability. But to the west of Cheshire lay a part of the country worse affected still, and better able to maintain itself in violating the law.

Wales was a poor and barbarous land, conquered and held as nominally a part of the English kingdom; but the people were not English, and the mountains and valleys were able to protect them from the English reach. They had no representation in the English parliament, but were held down by strong castles, round which clustered vast estates held by great English land-

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 28, dated May 22nd, 1400.

lords, who had every motive to be faithful to the English King, while their followers were settled in forts and walled towns, like foreign garrisons, in the midst of a [1]ragged and half-naked peasantry.

On the border of North Wales, the most powerful landlords at that time were the Earl of Arundel (having in addition to his own large estates the wardship of the lands belonging to the young Earl of March), John Cherleton, Lord of Powys, and Reginald, Lord Grey, of Ruthin.

Neighbouring on Lord Grey's domain there was settled in the valley of the Dee a Welsh proprietor, whose name now first occurs, [2]Owen, Lord of Glyndwfrdwy, or the [3]Valley of the Black Water, the Welsh name for the Dee. Contemporary writers know nothing of his parentage, except that he came of a good family, and that his [4]father's name was Griffith Vychan, or Vaughan; but by the following century it was averred that his [5]mother's name was Helene, a descendant of Llywelin, son of Jorwerth, Prince of North Wales. This, however, is probably a mere invention, dating from the time when [6]Henry VII. was searching genealogies to ennoble his own British parentage. Owen was no wild Welsh savage, but a cultured gentleman. He had studied law at Westminster, at a time when [7]"there was scant any man found within the Realm skilfull and cunning in the laws, except he be a gentleman born

[1] Scurræ nudipedes.—EULOG., iii, 388. [2] In a letter, claiming to be original, he styles himself Yweyn ap Gruffuth Dmn. de Glyn D'wfrdwy.—OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, i, 181. In PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., PASC. (July 15th), he is called "Owan Glendurdy"; in PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 12. "Owin de Gleyndouredy." [3] POWEL, 16 (Dourdwy); PENNANT, i, 325; or "Dwfr-du," BRUT-Y-TYWYSOGION. [4] See poem by Gryffyd Llwyd, his chief bard, in PENNANT, i, 334. [5] LEL. ITIN., v, 46; STOW, 325. [6] WYNNE, 331-342. [7] "Now by reason of this charges, the children onely of noble men do study the laws in these times. For the poor and common sort of the people are not able to bear so great charges for the exhibition of their children. And marchantmen can seldom find in their hearts to hinder their marchandise with so great yearly expenses."—FORTESCUE, "De laudibus Legum," 113.

and come of a noble stock." He had been an [1]esquire in Henry's service before he became King, serving with him in some of his roving adventures abroad. [2]He is said also to have been squire to the late Earl of Arundel. He was now in the very prime of manhood, [3]41 years of age, and handsome in person. He had married Margaret, a daughter of Sir David [4]Hannemere, or Hanmer (who had been a Justice of the King's Bench in the time of Richard II.), and he had now several daughters, but, so far as appears, no son.

Owen was possessed of lands in North and South Wales, [5]the total value of which was estimated at about 300 marks per annum, and he had his home at [6]Sychnant, or Sycharth, some three miles below Corwen, in the upper valley of the Dee. His house was in high repute with natives and strangers, for its magnificence and hospitality. All were welcome. [7]Bolts and locks were unknown. No porter was needed at the gate, and great was the renown of the white bread, the [8]bragot, the ale, and the wine. "Hit snewede in his hous of mete and drynke."

At Sychnant, Owen managed to fall into a quarrel with Lord

[1] Regi moderno (*i.e.*, Henry, not Richard) ante susceptum regnum.—ANN., 333. [2] EULOG., iii, 388. [3] He gave evidence (September 3rd, 1386) in the case of SCROPE *v.* GROSVENOR, where he is styled "Sir Owen de Glendore, del age xxvii ans et pluis." *i.e.*, between 27 and 28.—TYLER, i, 92. See PAT., 13 R. II., 2 p., 3 m., 8; DUGDALE, ii, 655; and COLLIN'S PEERAGE, viii, 60. In the fragment of a seal (figured in TYLER, vol. ii) Owen is represented seated under a canopy, uncrowned, as a man past middle age, with a forked beard. [4] Foss, iv, 57; PENNANT, i, 331. See the gross flattery in the ode addressed by Griffith Llwyd to Hanmer when about to preside at the Assizes, at Carmarthen (circ. 1390). He is called "the assertor of justice, the moderator of meted law, a complete lawyer pure as silver, a second David in our day of wide celebrity. Thy tongue and thy understanding widely hast thou established, the wisdom of Solomon," &c., &c. The object of the ode is to induce Hanmer to pack a jury to secure the acquittal of a Welshman for killing the Justice of Carmarthen on the bench.—IOLO MSS., 680. [5] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 19; PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 24. [6] PENNANT, i, 330; STOW, 325. [7] See account by Iolo Goch (said to have lived for some time in the house) in PENNANT, i, 330. [8] "With bragot and methe, thus may men meryly." — RUSSELL, "Boke of Nurture," 170. "Hire mouth was sweete as bragat is or meth."—CHAUCER, "Miller's Tale," 3261.

Grey, about some lands which each claimed as his own by right. Lord Grey was in possesion, but Owen kept up a series of attacks, plundering the land, burning the crops, and killing many of Lord Grey's adherents, with the usual ferocity of Border feuds. When Henry was proposing his march into Scotland, he sent to Owen, by the hands of Lord Grey, a summons to follow him to the North. This summons Lord Grey, either from craft or for some other cause, delayed to give until it was too late; and when Owen excused himself from lack of due notice, Lord Grey lost no time in denouncing him to the King.

When Henry left the capital on his journey north, disturbance and riot had already begun on the border of North Wales, but the tempting chance of a rapid success against the Scots made him endeavour to put off as far as possible the day of reckoning with his subjects in the West. Accordingly, he left instructions that conciliation should be tried as far as possible; and letters were despatched to the great Lords on the borders of Denbighshire and Montgomery, to act towards offenders in this sense.

It happened that on the very [1]day on which the King's letters were received by Lord Grey in his castle at Ruthin, by special messenger from the Council at Westminster, another written message was received by him from another quarter, which made conciliation doubly difficult. One Gryffyth ap David ap Gryffyth, "the strengest thiefe of Wales," was also a neighbour of the Lord of Ruthin. Hearing that conciliation was proposed, and that terms might be obtained, [2]he had been induced to make his submission and claim the King's protection. Accordingly, he had presented himself at Oswestry, expecting, as he had been given to understand, that he would thereby not only receive a free pardon and protection under charter from the

[1] Between June 11th and 23rd, probably June 14th or 15th. [2] ORIG. LET., II., i, 5.

King, but be made Master Forester and [1]Warden ("Keyshat") of Chirk Castle. If his own account be true, he found that he had been betrayed; his claims were treated with contempt, and he was warned by a friend that his person would be seized. Hereupon he escaped to his own stronghold at [2]Brinkiffe, and from thence sent a letter of defiance to Lord Grey. In this he told the story of his wrongs and of English treachery, and he ended by boasting to Lord Grey that some of his men had lately stolen horses from the park at Ruthin, and that, if Lord Grey attempted now to carry out a threat that he had uttered of burning and killing in every place where he knew that Gryffyth was, he would retaliate; and "Doute not," he added, "I will have both bredde and ale of the best that is in your lordschip."

Such a letter was not to be answered by conciliation. The King's messenger had brought instructions to "apees the misgovernance and riote," but Lord Grey was too near to the danger to use smooth phrases. He answered Gryffyth's defiance in a rage, and this interesting and outspoken correspondence ends with a promise [3]of "a roope, a ladder and ring heigh on gallowes for to henge, and thus shalle be your endyng.

At the same time Lord Grey wrote boldly to the Council and the Prince of Wales, then acting as Regent in the absence of the King. He enclosed the letter which he had just received from Gryffyth, and urged that stronger measures were needed, but that all must act together; that the chief danger lay in this:—that many holding offices of trust under the King were related to these rebel Welsh ("ben kynne unto this meignee that be rissen"), and that nothing would be done till these were

[1] Cf. RYM., viii, 184. "Le Conestable, Gardein ou Keys de mesme le seigneurie." [2] Perhaps Dinas Bran or Cefn Ucha, near Brynkinalt.—PENNANT, i, 294. Dinas Bran is called "Bran," in a poem by Howel ap Einion Lygliw, a bard who lived about 1390.—See EVANS, "De Bardis," 14. [3] ROY. LET., i, 38.

dismissed or kept in better order. His letter ended with a warning that, unless a speedy remedy were found for the mischief, this "woll be an unruely cuntree within short tyme."

This letter was written from Ruthin on June 23rd, but of the effect it produced in London we have no record. On the Border nothing serious was attempted to quell the rising, and the lawlessness increased throughout the summer, becoming before long an open and organized insurrection. Under the leadership of Owen, the Welsh attacked and burnt towns in which the English were settled, and took many strong places, driving the English out. Emboldened by success, they descended upon Shropshire, plundering, burning, imprisoning, and killing. Many castles and fortified mansions were taken, and operations were planning for an attack upon Shrewsbury, when Henry was hastily recalled from his useless expedition to the North. He moved southwards in all haste, passing through Durham (September 3rd and 4th), Northallerton (September 6th), [1]Pontefract (September 8th and 9th), Doncaster (September 11th and 12th), and Leicester, to Northampton, where he received exact information of the rising.

As late as [2]September 16th, it was apparently intended to hold a Parliament at Westminster in the beginning of October, but this proposal was abandoned, and an [3]alternative plan was contemplated, for a meeting at York, on Wednesday next after the Feast of All Saints (November 2nd). But, as we shall see, this plan also came to nothing, and, on [4]October 3rd, the meeting of Parliament was further postponed till the Octave of St. Hilary, January 21st, 1401.

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 3, September 8th; *Ibid*, 8, 14, September 10th; and ROT. VIAG., 29, 30, 31. [2] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 22 in tergo (dated September 16th, 1400) refers to presence of certain persons "in the Parliament to be held at Westminster, Monday next after the Feast of St. Jerome next (September 30th)." [3] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 3 (September 9th, 1400) contains summons to Archbishops, &c.; also to Sheriffs, for Knights and Burgesses. [4] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 30.

On September 19th, Henry issued summons from Northampton to the Sheriffs of ten Midland and Border Counties, announcing that he would proceed at once through Coventry to the Border of North Wales, to put down the insurrection. He wrote also to the citizens of Shrewsbury, urging them to be prepared for an attack, and warning them against treachery on the part of Welsh people residing within their walls. Accompanied by the young Prince of Wales, he then advanced in all haste, by Coventry (September 22nd) and Lichfield (September 23rd), to Shropshire.

We know very little of the details of the campaign, which is described in official documents as a raid, or *promenade à cheval (equitatio)*. At [1]Shrewsbury, a Welshman named Grenowe ap Tudor, who had favoured the rebellion, was executed as a traitor. His body was cut into four quarters, which were sent to be fixed over the gates of Bristol, Hereford, Ludlow, and Chester. After this example of summary vengeance, the King promptly entered Wales. In Anglesey, the Minorite Friars of [2]Lannas favoured the rebellion, but on the approach of a small detachment of English troops they deserted their house, which was at once captured and plundered; some of their goods finding their way to Kent, and other distant parts of the country. The monastery remained deserted for some months, the services being given up and the charities discontinued. Caernarvon was provided with a strong garrison of twenty men-at-arms and eighty archers, under the command of Sir John Bolde, with a promise of pay for [3]three months.

We can only make out the names of two Englishmen of

[1] ROT. VIAG., 29 (Shrewsbury, September 26th). [2] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 2, in tergo, contains orders for an inquiry, dated January 28th, 1401; EULOG., iii, 338, charges the soldiers with killing the Friars, but assigns the events to the wrong year, and is not so reliable as the official record, which simply says that the Friars ran away. [3] Viz.: from October 9th to January 8th.—PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., MICH., dated October 22nd, 1401.

influence who supported Owen, viz.: Robert Puleston and Griffith Hanmer (probably a relation of his wife's); and it is noticeable that [1]Griffin Yonge, "parson of the church of Llannynys (Bangor)," who afterwards became Owen's Chancellor, did not join him, but, on the contrary, accepted preferment from his enemies.

Everywhere the Welsh withdrew before Henry into the mountains, and in less than a month he was compelled by the weather, and the failure of supplies, to retire from the country, bringing with him a few prisoners to Shrewsbury. Thence he removed to Worcester, where the estates of [2]Owen were declared to be confiscated, and granted to the King's half-brother, Lord John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset. The lands of Robert Puleston, in Cheshire, Flint, Shropshire, and North Wales, were granted to Sir Hugh Browe; those of [4]Griffith Hanmer, in Flint, passed to John Passenant; but in a few months, (February 17th), they came into the hands of John Hanmer, who paid Passenant an annuity of [5]£20 per annum.

On October 19th, Henry was at Evesham, and from thence returned to London. The Prince of Wales was left behind at Chester. The King made a short stay at Tockington, in Gloucestershire, in [6]November; but the rest of the year was spent in or near the Capital.

On [7]November 30th, a general pardon was offered, with protection to all Welsh rebels who should present themselves to the Prince at Chester before the meeting of the next Parliament, which would be held early in the following year. But Owen showed no signs of submission. Calling upon all capable of bearing arms to attend him, and supported by seven other resolute chiefs, he remained a robber at large; lurking

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 36, October 28th, 1400. [2] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 17, November 9th, 1400; RYM., viii, 163. [3] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 34, October 22nd, 1400. [4] *Ibid*, November 4th. [5] *Ibid*, 2, 26. [6] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 19, in tergo, dated November 20th, 1400. [7] RYM., viii, 167.

in caves and dens, amidst inaccessible valleys, or in intrenchments among the mountains.

The Ambassadors had returned from France on the 6th of August, after ten weeks of negociations, the details of which are very imperfectly known; but the conciliatory temper of the English Council had not been without effect, and when the question was now again brought before Henry, on his return from Scotland, the principal difficulties between the two countries were in a fair way of being removed. There had been frequent meetings in the church at Lenlingham. The French envoys were instructed to refer to the other side as the Ambassadors of "the kingdom and country of England," but [1]they had in their pocket an alternative authority to address them as Ambassadors "of the Duke of Lancaster, our cousin of England," in case the other form of words should be resented. To the requests preferred by the English Council, the King of France had [2]replied that no arrangements could be considered, so long as Isabella was detained in England. After her return, negociations might be renewed, and he would then give his answer. The English representatives, accordingly, gave up all idea of the possibility of marriage between her and any of the English Princes, and attention was directed solely to her restoration to her father. On the 17th of July, the originals of documents signed in 1396 were compared, and the English envoys declared that Isabella herself should be returned by the following [3]Candlemas (February 2nd, 1401), [4]whatever might be ultimately decided as to the dowry and the jewels. But the French King insisted that his daughter must be returned by the beginning of [5]November, and the English envoys found it

[1] TILLET, 107. Cf. THRES. DES CHARTRES, April 8th, 1400, in REPT. ON FŒD., App. D, 68. [2] THRES. DES CHARTRES, May 31st, 1400. [3] *Ibid*, 69, "La Chandeleur"; *Ibid*, 67, July 22nd, 1400. [4] Simpliciter restituere.—USK, 52. [5] Pour la plus tard à la Toussaint.—THRES. DES CHARTRES, July 22nd, 1400.

politic to hold out a prospect of consent. They then returned to London, to report progress to the Council.

[1]On the 25th of August, an order was issued by the Council, in London, that none but well-known traders should be allowed to pass in or out of the country, except with special permission; but this order was recalled on [2]September 10th, so far as it related to friendly nations.

Early in September, it was decided that two of the French envoys should come personally into England, where they were to see Isabella herself, and press upon her not to enter into any fresh engagement without her father's express consent. Their instructions are [3]dated September 6th, 1400, but again there were delays. The envoys were Jean de Hangest, Lord of Heugueville, and Pierre Blanchet. The French King at last so far yielded on the question of etiquette, that they were to address themselves to him "who calls himself King of England, or to his Council." This grudging recognition was accepted by Henry, and a safe-conduct for them was issued on the [4] last day of October. On the other hand, even this concession was resented by the King of Scots, and Charles thought it prudent to [5]write to his ally, explaining that nothing but the detention of his daughter would have forced him to treat with Henry at all.

From this point the negociations entered upon a new phase. Now that all hope of retaining the person of Isabella with her father's consent had been abandoned, a further question arose as to Henry's liability to repay the marriage dowry, and the other money claims set forward by the French King as due to him, in terms of the treaty of 1396. It will be remembered that at the time of the marriage the French King had paid over to Richard, without further conditions, the sum of 300,000

[1]CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2. [2]*Ibid*, m. 6. [3]THRES. DES CHARTRES, 69; TILLET, 121. [4]This seems better than October 31st, 1399, as in RYM., viii, 98; and agrees with JUV., 419. [5]THRES. DES CHARTRES, 71.

francs, as a dowry with his daughter, and had promised an additional sum of 500,000 francs in five annual instalments, which were, however, to be returned with Isabella in case Richard should die before her, leaving no children. Of this sum, 200,000 francs had been already received by Richard, and this was the amount the repayment of which was now claimed by Charles VI.,—a claim which Henry was most unwilling, if not quite unable, to comply with. This might be looked upon as, in a sense, a national affair, and, if the money were to be refunded, it would come from the national Exchequer. But in the treaty with France, Henry and other lords had personally pledged themselves to see that its conditions should be fully carried out, giving a personal guarantee that, if Isabella returned to her country under the circumstances supposed, she should take with her her jewels and her personal belongings. Now that the very circumstances then contemplated as possible had presented themselves in fact, the wording of the articles of the treaty of 1396, was narrowly scrutinized to see if some legal flaw could not be discovered which would give a colourable pretext for refusing repayment of the money.

With this view, [1]thirteen questions were drawn up by the Council, and submitted to the leading lawyers for consideration. The principal points set forth may be briefly summarized thus :—

(1) Is Henry bound to carry out *at all* the provisions of the treaty of 1396, which had been made by Richard without consulting Parliament?

(2) Henry, with others, bound himself personally by the treaty to return Isabella with her goods and jewels, if Richard died. Does this refer to the goods and jewels *which she brought with her*, (which were few), or to others

[1] See them in full, in Usk, 47-53, who quotes from the copy addressed to himself personally.

[1]*acquired since her arrival in England*, (*i.e.*, the bulk of her present belongings)? and does it include the 200,000 francs?

(3) If it is decided that the 200,000 francs must be repaid, may not this be *set off* against [2]the 1½ millions of gold crowns, still unpaid by the French on account of the 3 millions ransom, agreed upon as due at the release of King John by Edward III., at the Great Peace in 1360?

It is evident that this question had been considered during the late negociations in Picardy; for many of the questions now propounded refer to the validity, or legal force, of certain arguments advanced by the French in answer to this renewal of a claim long since forgotten.

The thirteen questions were issued by the Council, at Westminster, on the 12th of September; and those to whom they were addressed were required to submit their opinions in writing, before September 29th, and to appear in person before the Council, to answer for their opinions, within eight days from that date. We do not know whether favourable, or unanimous, replies were returned, but there is no indication of any prominent dissent.

One of the *savants* to whom these thirteen questions were submitted was our garrulous acquaintance, the Welsh chronicler, Adam of Usk. His history previously to this date may be pieced together from his own record; from his life at Oxford, (1388), where he was a ringleader in the street rows between the students from the North and South. Getting thus early into trouble, he learnt respect for the law, [3]"took the bridle in his jaws," and sobered down for a respectable life. He became a Doctor of Laws, and practised for seven years in the Archbishop's Court at Canterbury. He was employed in Parliamentary

[1] See the inventory of presents, in TRAIS., 108; ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME, J. 649, Art. 55. [2] Seize cent mil escus.—TILLET, 107. [3] Maxillis meis frenum imponendo.—USK, 7.

business by Richard II., and was in favour with Archbishop Arundel. In 1399, he sided with Henry, and was appointed one of the legal Commisioners deputed to hold the preliminary inquiry prior to the deposition of King Richard. At the time of Henry's accession he held the living of West Hanningfield, near Chelmsford. On the [1]24th of October, 1399, he became parson of Shire Newton, near Chepstow, in Nether Went; and a month later he got the living of [2]Panteg, near Pontypool, in Monmouthshire. Through the influence of the [3]Archbishop of Canterbury he soon secured the neighbouring living of Llandogo, and the two "goodly churches" of Kemsing and Seal, near Sevenoaks, in Kent. On the [4]23rd of February, 1400, he was appointed a Commissioner to hear appeals against decisions of the Court at Bordeaux, and he was now called upon to give his opinion as to the claims of the King of France. He was looking forward to being one day a Bishop, and was already in London in November, 1400, when he was seized by a return of his youthful passion for street brawling, and again got himself into trouble. In the beginning of November, "Thursday after All Saints," 1400, "our beloved liege Adam Usk, clerk," accompanied by his two servants, Edward Usk and Richard Edvyn, and others, lay in wait at Westminster, and set upon one Walter Jakes. They took his horse, saddle, and bridle, valued at £5, and stole from him 14 marks (£9 6s. 8d.) in money. For this they were afterwards indicted as common footpads, though it is likely that they never stood their trial. Edward Usk submitted on the 16th of [5]June, 1403, and received a provisional pardon; but the clerical Adam was subsequently permitted to depart for Rome, after obtaining [6]two securities, in £40 each, that he would not do anything there which

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 20. [2] *Ibid*, 3, 16, dated November 24th, 1399. [3] USK, 39. [4] RYM., viii, 29. [5] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 22. [6] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 1, 6, dated February 17th, 1402.

would tend to upset the King, or the laws, customs, or statutes of England. He left England on [1]February 19th, 1402, and spent a long exile in Rome, praying God to make with him a [2]"mark for good," that men who approached him might see and be confounded.

On the [3]11th of October, 1400, the Bishop of Durham was again despatched to France to continue the negociations, and arrangements began to be made with a view to the approaching return of Isabella, which, it was expected, would take place in the [4]month of November. The Bishop was only absent eleven days, being [5]recalled by the news that the two French envoys were soon expected, and that the difficulties as to the King's title were likely to be smoothed over.

The two French gentlemen crossed from Boulogne, landed at Dover, and proceeded to Eltham, where they were received with great honour by Henry himself, who [6]conducted them in person over his private apartments (November 1st). Everywhere their expenses were paid, but someone acting on Henry's behalf never quitted them during the whole time of their stay. Permission was granted to them to visit Isabella, but a promise was required from them that they would not mention any word of Richard in her presence. Accompanied by the Earl of Northumberland, they proceeded to Havering-at-Bower, in Essex, where they found Isabella, attended by the Duchess of Ireland and the [7]Countess of Hereford. They kept their promise, and returned to France well pleased with their reception.

[1] He says 1401 (p. 72), but it must have been 1402, for he saw the comet on his journey. [2] Et fac mecum signum in bonum, probably a reference to GENESIS, iv, 15. [3] FOREIGN ROLL. [4] "In proximo."—RYM., viii, 162, dated October 14th, 1400; PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 38. [5] Additional MSS., 4596, 79, in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 82, better referred to 1400 than 1399. [6] ST. DEN., xx, 14. [7] FROIS. (iv, 316) says the Duchess of Gloucester. I have substituted the name of her mother, the Countess of Hereford (from ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 132). The Duchess of Gloucester died October 3rd, 1399.—See p. 103.

Much time, however, was spent over the new subjects of negociation. The questions were submitted afresh to the learned at [1]Oxford, through the Chancellor of that University (November 12th). The French negociators passed and repassed the Channel [2]several times, but remained obstinate in their adherence to the claim for the complete fulfilment of the terms of the treaty. Much ill-feeling was aroused. Both of the French envoys, while in England, fell sick of the prevailing epidemic, and [3]Blanchet died. Then followed suspicions of poisoning and further developments of irritation, and matters were not made smoother by the arrival of threatening news from [4]Guyenne. The French King was preparing to create his eldest son, Louis, Duke of Guyenne, and was ready to enforce his claim to the title by occupying the country round Bordeaux. He claimed the allegiance of the nobles of Guyenne, and seized the castles of Boteville, Chales, Petyll, Montynhac, and Le Puy de Chales. His little son was only six years old, but by a special arrangement he was declared, by the advice of the Council, to be old enough. The Duchy, with its revenues, was granted to him on [5]January 30th, 1402, and he subsequently did homage in due form for his new possessions [6](February 28th, 1402). Thus November came and went, and February came and went, but Isabella had not been restored.

[1] RYM., viii, 161. [2] "Par pluseurs fois."—TRAIS., 106; MS. LEBAUD, No. 10212, 3, BIBL. DU ROI. [3] JUV., 419. [4] ROT. PARL., iii, 454; RYM., viii, 223. [5] TILLET, Receuil, 304. [6] REPT. ON FŒD., App. D. 71; TILLET, 122; GODEFROY, 729.

CHAPTER IX.

THE EMPERORS OF THE EAST AND WEST.

THE year 1400, which had begun in storm and passed in tempest, was to end at last in outward calm. Twelve months before, the King had passed his Christmas on the brink of a volcano, surrounded in his very castle by treacherous friends, and scared with dark mutterings of menaced treason. The storm had burst. Rebellion had been crushed; the Scots chastised; the Welsh terrified; the French softened; and the King returned to pass the Christmas gaieties in temporary peace. His Court was graced, during the winter of 1400-1, by a strange and venerated visitor, such as England had never seen before.

In the far East, Christianity and civilization were already in the last death-struggle with the Turks. Asia Minor had been abandoned; both sides of the Danube were lost; and though treaties had been signed, and tribute paid, and all indignities submitted to by the Eastern Christians, yet nothing could stop the advancing tide, and the Infidels were gathering like vultures round the last home of the Empire on the Bosphorus.

We are fortunate in possessing a curious and detailed [1]account of the great city of Constantinople before its occupation by the Turks, written by a chatty Castilian, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who visited it in 1403. The city was called [2]Escomboli by the Greeks. Pera they called Galata. Clavijo had seen many cities, but Constantinople he considers "the best and most beautiful in the world, and the most secure

[1] CLAVIJO, pp. 28-49. [2] *i.e.*, ἐς τὴν Πολίν (modern "Stamboul").—*Ibid*, 47.

from all winds." The walls were built in the shape of a [1]triangle, eighteen miles round, but much of the space enclosed was not built upon. He describes its vast churches ("some say there are even now [1403] 3,000 churches") and monasteries, "most of them in ruins," with stores of wondrous relics. The Holy Coat, which did not "look as if it had been woven," the Bread given to Judas, "which he was unable to eat," the True Cross, the Sponge, the Reed, the Stone, the Lance-head, the Beard of Jesus Christ, the Blood, the Tears (which looked "fresh as if they had just fallen"), and other priceless accessories of the Crucifixion (some in duplicate), had all found their way to Byzantium. There, too, were both the Arms of John the Baptist, from the shoulder to the hand, "though they say that the whole body of the blessed St. John was destroyed, except one finger of the right arm, with which he pointed when he said, Behold the Lamb of God!" Yet there they were—both of them,—one shrivelled to skin and bone, adorned with jewels and set in gold; the other in fine preservation, but minus the thumb, for which a suitable explanation was offered. Such was the city, and such the mysteries, now passing helplessly into the grasp of the Infidels.

In their last agonies of humiliation, the Greek Emperors had made their peace with the Bishop of Rome, and with his sanction had appealed for arms and money to the West. Four years before, the King of Hungary had made a similar appeal; but, though largely aided by the Western Powers, he was crushed and ruined by the Sultan Bajazet I., at the fatal battle of Nicopolis (September 28th, 1396). One thousand French had been present in the battle, led by the noblest gallants of the proudest Court in Western Europe, but none escaped save 25 of the leaders (including the young Count of Nevers,

[1] Clavijo, 46.

afterwards Duke John of Burgundy), whose lives were reserved for a long captivity in Turkish prisons at Broussa. A young Bavarian lad, Johann [1]Schiltberger, who was wounded in the battle, and whose life was spared because of his youth, says that 10,000 prisoners (over twenty years of age) were massacred by the Turks on the day after the battle. King Henry himself had been present in the battle with 1,000 English lances, and had narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the conquerors by getting on board of one of the blockading squadron on the Danube, after the flight of Sigismund, the Hungarian King.

After the disaster, the Turkish conquerors pressed closer round Constantinople. The Emperor [2]Emanuel, or Manuel, II. sent again, beseeching help from France; and, in 1399, 1,200 French troops, under the command of the Marshal [3]Jean le Meingre de Boucicaut, undertook the defence of the Imperial City. But it was a forlorn hope; and though the [4]panegyrist of Boucicaut, who had ample means of knowing the facts from the Marshal himself, has magnified the great deeds of his heroic patron, yet the sum total of the results was a mere confession of the impossibility of resistance. The Turks occupied the heights above Pera, whence they could hurl missiles from their engines into Pera and Stamboul. They [5]blockaded both cities with 60 vessels on the sea side, and 400,000 men by land, but failed to reduce them after two long attacks, extending over six months each. With the help of some Genoese and Venetian galleys, the Straits were kept open; but pay and provisions failed; the [6]climate was fatal to the French; and they were compelled to withdraw. One hundred, however, of them

[1] He was then only sixteen years old. He followed Bajazet as a runner for six years, was present at the battle of Angora (July, 1402), and was then taken prisoner by Timour, whom he followed to Samarcand.—SCHILTBERGER, 21. [2] French writers call him "Carmanoli"; Italians, "Chiaramomolle;" Clavijo (44), "Chirmanoli." [3] CLAVIJO, 16; RECUEIL DES TRAITEZ, i, 366. [4] BOUCICAUT, pt. I., ch. 31-33. [5] CLAVIJO, 47. [6] "L'air estoit non propice aux François."—JUV., 417.

remained to continue the defence of the City, and, at the instance of Boucicaut, it was decided that the Emperor should accompany him to France, offering to hand over Constantinople, with the Empire, to the French King, if he would undertake to defend it, and to plead in person with the Western Powers for more substantial help to meet his pressing need.

The Emperor, accordingly, decided to accept the advice. He left his nephew, [1]John, who was by descent the rightful heir to the purple, to govern during his absence; and a Frenchman, [2]Chateaumorant, remained to conduct the defence. In [3]company with Boucicaut, the Emperor started on his journey to the West. At [4]Methone, in the Peloponnesus, he left his wife and two little children, and sailed with one galley to Venice. Here he was honourably welcomed, being lodged in the Palace of the [5]Marquis of Ferrara, while Boucicaut proceeded to Paris, to announce the purpose of his approaching visit. Everywhere he was received with demonstrations of great respect. From Venice he moved to Padua, where he arrived at midnight, escorted by a torchlight procession and instruments of music. From Padua he travelled by Vicenza to Pavia, and was met by the [6]Duke of Milan, who conducted him through his dominions to the borders of France. At Milan, he was joined by the great scholar Chrysoloras, who had

[1] John had been nearly blinded by his father for rebellion. In a letter (dated June 1st, 1402) he calls himself "Imperator et Moderator Romanorum," and his uncle "pater meus."—ROY. LET., i, 101. In September, 1403, he was in banishment in Mitylene. Clavijo, who visited the island, calls him the Young Emperor of Constantinople, to distinguish him from Manuel, the Old Emperor.—CLAVIJO, xxiii, 45. [2] Called "Centumarando," in SCHILTBERGER, 4; or, "Johannes Dominus Castrimorandi," in RECEUIL DES TRAITEZ, i, 366. He afterwards returned to Paris, and was in attendance on the Emperor until his departure in 1402.—JUV., 421. (CLAVIJO, 24. [4] DUCAS, c. 14. When Clavijo visited him in Constantinople (October 28th, 1403) he had with him "the Empress, his wife, and three small children, the eldest being about eight years old."—CLAVIJO, 29. [5] GALEAZZO GATTARO, CHRON., PATAV., in MURATORI, xvii, 836. [6] ANN. MEDIOL., in MURATORI, xvii.

settled two years before in Florence, and gained immense distinction by opening to Italian scholars the language of Homer, Demosthenes, and Plato. He was now summoned to [1]meet Manuel in the North, and probably accompanied him through the rest of his journey.

In Provence, the Emperor was received by an escort sent to meet him. On nearing Paris, the King's uncles came out to salute him. On [2]June 3rd, he entered the French capital. The King awaited him at the gates, and conducted him through the city on a white horse, richly caparisoned. The [3]Louvre had been specially decorated in his honour, and he was lodged at the French King's expense.

As soon as conveniently could be arranged, the Emperor submitted his proposal to the French Council. Very soon he received a letter from England, from [4]Peter Holt, Prior of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, at Rodes, in [5]Ireland. Holt had been for some time engaged in a feud with one of his subordinates, a Friar named [6]Robert White, who claimed that by a charter of the late King he was the lawful Prior. Accordingly, he seized his chief and imprisoned him, but Holt was glad to escape to England, to endeavour to ingratiate himself with Henry, and secure [7]his support. In this he appears to have succeeded, for on the [8]last day of December, 1401, he started for Ireland, armed with letters of ejectment against his rival at Rodes. The Emperor [9]replied to Holt's letter on June 21st, proposing that he should visit

[1] ARETINUS, 253. See the account of his enthusiasm for Chrysoloras and the new-found Greek tongue. [2] SPONDANUS, 676. [3] Cf. a similar reception of the gouty Emperor of the West by Charles V., in Paris, in 1377.— CHRIST. DE PIS., iii, ch. 33-47. [4] Holt is called Tricoplarius Rhodi ac miles noster familiaris, in RYM., viii, 235. See his passport on passing to Rodes, dated December 15th, 1401. [5] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 33. [6] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 25. [7] *Ibid*, 2, 5 (September 11th, 1401), where the new Lieutenant of Ireland is required to see that Holt is restored. [8] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1. 18. [9] ROY. LET., 39.

England, in order to confer personally with the English King. On July 11th, Holt replied that the King had gone North against the Scots, but that he would at once convey to him the Emperor's wishes, and report as to the proposed visit. In the meantime, he advised him to postpone his journey until the King's return to the South. Holt thereupon proceeded northwards, and, having received Henry's permission, he crossed to Paris, where he lodged with the Emperor, and [1]conducted the negociations in person. We have seen how Henry was unexpectedly called to the West after his return from Scotland, and thus the proposed visit of the Emperor had again to be postponed.

At length, after repeated delays, Manuel crossed the Channel. He made a short halt at [2]Calais, which cost the English Exchequer £300. He landed at Dover before the [3]11th of December, and messages were despatched to various persons of distinction, to meet him and escort him on his way to London. On December 13th (St. Lucy), he [4]arrived at Canterbury, where he was entertained by the monks at Christ Church, and after a few days he proceeded on his way. On Blackheath he was met by the King, who accompanied him to London, which they entered together (December 21st) with great display and pomp. From thence he returned with Henry to spend the Christmas festivities at Eltham.

Though many contemporaries record the fact of this striking journey of the Greek Emperor from the far East, yet we have not many hints as to the impression it must have produced upon the minds of the people of the West. All the great cities that he visited seem to have been flattered by the presence of the august stranger, and London, Paris, Venice, and Milan

[1] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 82, where date should be September 29th, 1400, not 1399. [2] Pells Issue Roll, 2 H. IV., Mich. [3] *Ibid*, 3 H. IV., Pasc., April 21st, 1402. [4] Lambeth MS., Speculum Parvulorum, lib. 5, ch. 30, quoted in Hody, De Illustribus Græcis, 14.

rivalled each other in doing him honour. All remarked upon the extreme devoutness of the Easterns; that they had daily service [1]in their own native tongue, and how [2]priests and laymen alike all joined in the singing. Amongst the "errors" of the Greek Church it was [3]noticed that "the clergy are married, but when their wives die they do not marry again, but remain widowers, and are very unhappy for the rest of their lives." "When anyone dies who has done evil in this life, and is a great sinner, they dress him in clothes and change his name, that the Devil may not know him; yet they are very devout, and say long prayers." There was no special seclusion or privacy. In [4]Paris their services were attended by all who were curious in the matter. In London they walked abroad, their long, simple, white gowns contrasting with the [5]parti-coloured and fantastic novelties which formed the [6]"newe gette," or latest fashion, of the London dandies of that day; the priests distinguished by their flowing hair and long beards, in protest against the shaven crowns and smooth faces of their brethren of the West. The learned in England were flattered to hear that the old Greek nobility [7]derived their descent from

[1] EULOG., iii, 388. The writer had probably watched them at Canterbury. [2] USK, 55. [3] CLAVIJO, 64. [4] JUV., 419. [5] See a curious tirade against the "Pokys," or Bagpipe Sleeves, in EVES., 172. The monk calls them "receptacula dæmoniorum," because stolen property could be slipped away in them, and because the men, when serving at table, let them fall into the soup or the gravy. He adds that wise men believe *(a sapientibus creditur)* that the Deity is angry at these fashions, and has given the nation a warning, by allowing the troubles with the Scotch, the French, and the Welsh. Cf. extract from Occleve, in STOW, CHRON., 327:—

"Now hath this land little need of Broomes
To sweepe away the filth out of the street,
Sen side sleeves of penniless groomes
Will it up licke, be it dry or weete."
His armes two han right ynoughe to done,
And somewhat more his sleves up to holde.

DE REGIMINE PRINCIPUM, 18.

For the pointed shoes ("poulaines") and other extravagances of fashion, see CHRIST. DE PIS., i, 29; also Ross (temp. H. VI.), HIST. REG. ANGL., 205. "Detestabilis usus sotularium rostratorum, &c." [6] CHAUCER, Prol. 682. [7] USK (94) heard the same story from the Greeks in Rome, 1405.

Constantine and his three British uncles, Trehern, Llewellyn, and Meric, and "the 30,000 Britons whom he took with him to Constantinople;" while a more modern, and more solid, bond of union was found in the faithful bodyguard of Warangians, whose axes attended the Emperor in his palace, and who spoke a [1]language known on the Bosphorus as "English."

For two months the strangers remained at Eltham, and were royally entertained at the public expense. "The [2]men of London maden a gret mommyng to hem of twelve aldermen and there sons, for which they had gret thanke." Sports, jousts, processions, and gaieties succeeded each other, with lavish display—both hosts and guests enjoying the merry time with mutual delight; but every day Constantinople was being closer pressed with famine, and the [3]besieged were dropping from the walls by night, and giving themselves up to the Turks.

Something must be done, and done quickly. Eighteen [4]months before, a Greek envoy had landed in England, armed with a recommendation from the Pope, and commissioned to raise money for the relief of Constantinople, and the support of the schismatic Manuel against the Infidels from Asia. Pardons had been offered to all who should lend a helping hand, by preaching or collecting on behalf of the good cause, and [5]boxes were to be kept to hold contributions, in every town, under the supervision of the Mayor, and in every diocese, under the supervision of the Bishop. King Richard had already been applied to, in 1398, for help, though he had been [6]obliged to make excuses. He did, however, subsequently [7]forward £2,000 in money, through a Genoese merchant. But the troubles which followed in England threw the great begging scheme

[1] CODINUS, DE OFFICIIS, ch. vii, 12, p. 90, ed., 1648. [2] CHRON. LOND., 87. [3] BOUCICAUT, ch. 30. [4] June, 1399.—RYM., viii, 82. [5] ANN., 231. [6] See his apologetic letter, in BEKYNTON, i, 285. [7] ISSUE ROLLS, 22 R. II., p. 272, dated May 13th, 1399, quoted in BEKYNTON, i, lx.

into confusion, and it is evident that from various causes very little of the money contributed found its way to its intended destination. Henry now undertook to enquire into the matter more exactly, and with this view he sent [1]orders to the Bishops in every diocese to institute an enquiry as to the names and returns of all those who had been authorized to collect in 1399. [2]The Florentine merchant bankers, "of the Society of Alberti," had received £158 11s. 5d., and handed it over to the proper quarter. To their surprise they now found that the sum had not been accounted for, and they would have been held responsible had they not been able to show a formal receipt.

The directions were sent out on January 11th, 1401, and very soon a large sum was forthcoming. One [3]writer states that £4,000 was raised by indulgences, and that Henry added £4,000 more, but a [4]receipt signed by Manuel himself, and dated London, February 3rd, 1401, acknowledges with gratitude that Henry has granted him 3,000 marks out of the Exchequer, as a compensation for the money previously collected on his behalf, but never yet received; and the particulars are exactly corroborated by an entry in the [5]Issue Roll of the Exchequer, showing that the Emperor received £2,000 at the hands of Peter Holt. With this sum he was seemingly content, and after a stay of two months he returned to [6]Paris, where he remained till the summer of 1402. Thence he proceeded, by a circuitous route, to his own country, to find that Constantinople had been saved—not by the prayers, or arms, or contributions of the faithful, but by the sword of [7]Timur the Tartar. The Emperor still continued to communicate with

[1] RYM., viii, 174; CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 10. [2] See the statement of Nicholas Luke on their behalf, in CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 5, in tergo, dated August 20th, 1401. [3] EULOG., iii, 388. [4] ROY. LET., i, 56. [5] PELLS, 2 H. IV., MICH., dated March 26th, 1401. [6] JUV., 421. [7] Bajazet was defeated by Timur, and taken prisoner, at Angora, July 28th, 1402. He died at Ak Sher or Aksheher, near Konieh, in Asia Minor, March 8th, 1403.—SCHILTBERGER, 21.

Henry, and his [1]envoys from time to time visited England, though the immediate danger to his capital was removed.

The Emperor of the East was still a lion in London, when, by a striking coincidence, Commissioners arrived, bearing for Henry a flattering request from the newly crowned Emperor of the West. Wenceslaus, or Wenzel, King of Bohemia, had been Emperor of the West since 1378. His sister, Anne, had been the wife of Richard II., and a friendship had been maintained between the brothers-in-law, even after the death of Anne. Richard had offered to Wenceslaus the help of England against his rebellious subjects, and in return the [2]Emperor was prepared to give assistance to Richard in 1399. But the dissipation of Wenceslaus' life, and the weakness of his throne, had filled his inglorious reign with disaster and intrigue, which reached its height in the summer of 1400, when five out of the seven Princes who claimed to be Electors combined to declare him deposed from the Imperial dignity.

On June 31st, 1400, [3]Sir Roger Siglem left England for Germany, as an "ambassador on secret matters." He was absent until the following September 23rd. In the meantime, the five Electors had pronounced the deposition of Wenceslaus, and had chosen in his room, as "King of the Romans," one of themselves, viz.: [4]Robert III., or Rupert, a Duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine of the Rhine. An understanding had, no doubt, previously been arrived at with the English envoy, that the deposed Emperor need look for no assistance now from England. Wenceslaus did not, of course, acquiesce in the decision of the Electors. He appealed to [5]France, and remained for several years fomenting disturbances amongst the Powers of Europe, as King of Bohemia.

[1] RYM., viii, 299, March 29th, 1403. [2] See his letter, dated Nuremberg, September 24th, 1399 (not 1397) which must have fallen into Henry's hands, printed in BEK., i, 287. [3] FOREIGN ROLL. [4] See letters in MARTENE, i, 1634-8, August 24th, 1400. [5] JUV., 419.

Thus, at this interesting time, Europe saw two rival Popes, each with his faction of Cardinals, cursing each other from Avignon and Rome; the effete Eastern Empire at Constantinople dropping, from sheer exhaustion, into the clutches of the Turks; and two rival Emperors of the West, each with his following of Princes and Electors, established as centres of mutual hatred on the Moldau and the Rhine.

The great cities of Cologne, Frankfort, and Aix-la-Chapelle, with the Duke of Gueldres, refused at first to [1]recognize Rupert. In Italy, the Duke of Milan rejected his claims with scorn, and [2]Mantua and many other Italian cities still held with the King of Bohemia. But Rupert collected a great army, and marched on Frankfort. After a [3]siege of six weeks he entered the city in triumph (October 26th, 1400). The bulk of the German cities submitted to him. The [4]King of Aragon, Valentia, and the Islands of the Mediterranean was friendly to him. With the [5]support of Pope Boniface IX. he was soon practically above all serious opposition north of the Alps, and the Triple Crown was placed on his head at Cologne, by the [6]Bishop of Mayence, [7]January 6th, 1401.

On [8]the 9th of January, the new Emperor despatched three Commissioners to London, to make arrangements for a marriage between his eldest son, Louis, then [9]thirteen years old, and Henry's eldest daughter, Blanche, who was about his equal in age. The proposal was welcomed, and on [10]February 13th, 1401, a Commission was issued authorizing the Constable and Marshal, with the Bishops of Hereford and Rochester, to arrange the necessary preliminaries with the German representatives, who were still in London. No time was lost, and no

[1] Dont il en demoura en indignation.—FROIS., iv, 322. [2] MARTENE, i, 1638, 1679. [3] *Ibid*, i, 1639. "Environ quarante jours."—MONSTR., ch. vi, p. 6. [4] MARTENE, i, 1642. [5] ROY. LET., i, 94. [6] MONSTR., ch. vi. [7] MARTENE, i, 1651; L'ART DE VERIFIER, ii, 36. [8] RYM., viii, 170. [9] *Ibid*, viii, 233. [10] *Ibid*, viii, 176.

difficulties presented themselves. By March 7th, the outline of an agreement was sketched out, according to which, if all preliminaries were accepted, the Princess Blanche was to be conducted at Easter in the following year (1402) to Cologne, there to be met by Louis, who should at once take her to Heidelberg, where the marriage should be duly solemnized; the English King agreeing to give 40,000 nobles as a dower with his daughter, and the Duke Louis to make suitable provision for her maintenance during his lifetime and after his death. Further details were to be arranged by [1]Commissioners representing both parties, who were to meet at Dordrecht early in the coming autumn.

[1] RYM., viii, 179.

CHAPTER X.

THE LOLLARDS.

FOR some time past [1]writs had been issued summoning a Parliament to meet at Westminster, on the Octave of St. Hilary, January 21st, 1401. On [2]Thursday, January 20th, the newly elected members presented themselves to answer to their names, and verify their return, in presence of the Chancellor at Westminster; and, on the following day, the Parliament was formally opened by Sir William Thernyng, Chief Justice of Common Pleas, who explained to the members the King's will in calling them together again. The next day, Saturday, January 22nd, the Knights of the Shire, the Citizens, and Burgesses presented to the King Sir Arnold Savage, [3]a Kentish gentleman, whom they had chosen as their Speaker; a choice which was not only approved by the King, but universally accepted, [4]the new Speaker being a man of refinement, tact, and eloquence.

The meetings were then continued [5]from day to day. Business was transacted and petitions were presented up to March 10th, and the usual grants of money were made to meet the expenses of the past year, incurred in the operations against the Scotch, the Welsh, the rebel lords, and the French. Reconciliations were effected, and efforts made to smooth away some remaining traces of the animosities of the past two years. The Bishop of Norwich was publicly reconciled with Sir

[1] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 2 H. IV., MICH., November 22nd, 1401. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 454. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 161. He was Speaker again, January 15th, 1404.—ROT. PARL., iii, 523. [4] ANN., 335. [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 454-479; STAT., ii, 120-131.

Thomas Erpingham, the Treasurer, and was restored to his temporalities, which had been declared forfeit after the rebellion of twelve months before. The quarrel between the Earl of Rutland and Lord Fitzwalter was arranged, and the Earls of Rutland and Somerset were reinstated in their lands and possessions as loyal subjects of King Henry. Further evasions of the Statute against Provisors were sanctioned, the Statute regulating Purveyance was re-affirmed, and the recent Statute against Liveries was more accurately defined.

Attention was directed to the affairs of Wales, and the unsettled condition of the Border counties in the West. Signs of coming trouble were not wanting, and the members of the English Parliament were only too ready to magnify the danger in urging stringent measures against their troublesome neighbours. Welsh [1]students in England had left Oxford at the call of Owen, to further the rebellion, and Welsh labourers were returning without warning to their own country, and arming themselves with bows and swords.

In Wales [2]the fields were neglected, stock was sold, and with the proceeds the Welshmen were procuring "sadles, bowes and arowes, and other harnys." "Recheles men of many divers cuntries voiden her groundes and her thrifty governance, and assembled hem in dissolate places and wilde, and maken many divers congregaciones and meeynges [meetings] pryvely, thogh her counsaile be holden yet secrete fro us, wherethrogh yong peple are the more wilde in governance." Already, negociations had begun with some of the chiefs of the islands off the West of Scotland, to effect a landing at Barmouth and Aberdovey before the coming summer.

So much information had been received before the Parlia-

[1] See the evidence of Johan Pole against five "clerks" from Oxford, who had become Owen's men.—ORIG. LET., II., 1, 8. [2] MS. CLEOP. F, iii, 119 *b*, in ORIG. LET., II., 1, 8.

ment met. The Council had forthwith issued orders to all the towns and villages on or near the coast, to man and equip for sea, at their own cost, a fleet of 52 [1]ships of war.

The Commons now objected that these orders were illegal, and [2]unprecedented, and that they ought to be withdrawn. The King consented, but pleaded that the measure was necessary to protect the country from invasion, and promised to take the advice of the Parliament in the matter. At the same time, the Lords of the Isles of Scotland, who had just returned from a [3]descent on the northern coasts of Ireland, were encouraged again to [4]negociate with English representatives in Cumberland, in order to counteract the influence now being brought to bear upon them by the Welsh.

The rebellious spirit, moreover, was spreading into England. The Border Counties were insecure from plunder and arson, and there were riots and resistance to authority in the West. The Customs were collected with great difficulty, especially in the port of Bristol, and in the cloth districts about Frome. The Parliament took the alarm, and recommended immediate measures. An old statute of Edward I., passed on the first settlement of the English authority in Wales, had declared that no Welshman should hold office as Sheriff, Bailiff, or Officer, in any district of Wales in the neighbourhood of the royal castles, without the consent of the Chamberlain at Caernarvon. It is certain that this [5]statute had never been strictly acted upon; nevertheless, the Commons now recommended its revival. A free pardon had been promised to all rebels presenting themselves at Chester before the Parliament met. The Commons asked that this pardon should not be granted, but that the

[1] "Barges and balingers." See commission (dated January 11th, 1401) in RYM., viii, 174; CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 19. [2] Qu' n'ad este fait devant ces heures.—ROT. PARL., iii, 458 *a*. [3] USK, 61. [4] See the safe-conduct (dated February 5th, 1401) in ROT. SCOT., ii, 155. [5] ROT. PARL., i, 273.

Lords of the Marches should be required to proceed summarily against all rebels, without the option of a fine; or, at least, that those who were convicted of plundering should be made to pay for the damage they had done. The King promised to give attention to these recommendations, but declined to allow his right of pardon to be interfered with. It is said, though on [1]doubtful authority, that Owen himself appeared in this Parliament, complaining that Lord Grey had taken his lands from him, and demanding redress. The claim was not seriously entertained, and though the Bishop of St. Asaph, as having a personal knowledge of the Welsh [2]and some experience of their depredations, raised his voice in warning of the dangers in prospect, yet the claim was dismissed with contempt. The Council cared nought for [3]such "barfoot loons."

The King then gave his consent to the following measures, and it was accordingly enacted:—

(1) That no *thorough Welshman* (*i.e.*, one born in Wales, of Welsh parents) should henceforth *purchase or hold land or property* in the Border Towns of Chester, Shrewsbury, Bridgnorth, Ludlow, Leominster, Hereford, Gloucester, or Worcester, or their suburbs, or become a citizen or burgess of any of them, and that those already enrolled should be bound to give security for good behaviour, and be ineligible to hold any office in those towns.

(2) That anyone taking a Welsh tenant in England should *require surety* of him, and *be himself responsible* for the tenant's allegiance.

(3) That any Welshman *convicted of plundering in any English county, and escaping to Wales*, should be liable

[1] Eulog., iii, 388. [2] Pat., 3 H. IV., 1, 5, March 13th, 1402; Pat., 2 H. IV., 4, 13, August 23rd, 1401. His poverty was assisted by a grant of the Church of Mayvot, with its Chapels of Pole and Guldesfeld (or Kegilva). [3] De scurris nudipedibus non curare.—Eulog., iii, 388.

to be seized, and summarily dealt with, by the Lords of the Border.

(4) That for the next three years *no Englishman could be convicted in Wales* at the suit of a Welshman, except on the decision of an English judge, or the verdict of an English jury.

In everything Henry acted with caution, as though unwilling to drive the Welshmen to despair; and on the very last day of the Parliament, viz.: Thursday, March 10th, he issued a general pardon to the inhabitants of the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Anglesea, Caernarvon, and Merioneth, for all acts of treason and rebellion committed up to January 6th, excepting only such as still held out or had been taken prisoners, and naming Owen Glendourdy, and Rees, and William ap Tudor, as specially exempted from the benefit. Similar [1]pardons were extended, at slightly later dates, to the counties of Montgomery, Shropshire and Cheshire.

On March 9th, John Scarle resigned his office as Chancellor, and was succeeded by Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter, who had been Chancellor in the previous reign. The Great Seal was brought in a sealed leather bag, [2]"about ten o'clock, before dinner," and solemnly given up to the King, who at once handed it to the Bishop of Exeter, who took it to his house, "in a suburb of London," where he deposited it, bringing back the empty bag on the following day. [3]Scarle remained a member of the Council. He received a complimentary douceur in the shape of [4]one cask of wine per annum, and on September 27th, 1401, he was made [5]Archdeacon of Lincoln. We do not know to what extent he had abused his position as Chancellor, but [6]we know that he had "borrowed" £100 from the Exchequer, "gratis," and that as late as July

[1] RYM., viii, 181. [2] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 3. [3] RYM., viii, 185. [4] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 22, dated March 3rd. [5] *Ibid*, 4, 5. [6] PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 6.

5th, 1402, he was unable to repay it, and had to pray that it might remain till the following Christmas.

About the same time, Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, became Seneschal of England, an office which he had practically held for the last year, though nominally acting as assistant to the little Prince Thomas.

On the [1]20th of April, he gave up his post as Admiral of the South and West, and was succeeded by Thomas Rempston. On the [2]same day, Richard, Lord de Grey, had been appointed Admiral of the North. On the 23rd of May, Lawrence Allerthorpe was made Treasurer in place of John Norbury. He retained this office till [3]March 1st, 1402, when he again was succeeded by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. On the 15th of November, in the previous year (1400), an active lawyer, William Gascoigne, was promoted to be [4]Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

It has been sententiously said of the 15th century, that [5]if "political order was in its birth, intellectual disorder seemed commencing, and that Fancy had all at once broken loose from the trammels of the grave feudal and papal world." The year 1400 had been confidently fixed upon as the expected end of the world. In Italy, a filthy fanatic was giving himself out as Elias, sent into the world to beget the true Messiah. He promised eternal blessedness to whoever should be the true Mary. He had first announced himself in Venice, and proceeded thence to Rome. In [7]both cities more than one hundred ladies secretly visited him, with presents. He was ultimately caught hiding in Rome, and publicly burnt.

In England, the "intellectual disorder" took a more rational,

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 24. [2] *Ibid*, m., 33. [3] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., MICH., March 1st, 1402. [4] "Ad placita coram nobis tenenda."—CLAUS. H. IV., 1, 28; PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., MICH., November 11th, 1401. MICHELET, ii, 274. [6] See the sermon by R. Wimbledon, preached at Paul's Cross, Quinquagesima, 1388, in Fox, iii, 292. [7] USK, 93.

though equally malignant shape. No one can read far in any record of this time, without stumbling upon some evidence of the [1]fierce struggle which was then working its way to the surface, between reason and authority in matters of belief. If your writer is a churchman, he loses temper, and multiplies anger in searching for language to express his horror at the doctrines of the Lollards. If he is a satirist, his gall is expended in lashing the Friars and the Priests.

But from whichever side you look, the mere mention of the feud is invariably accompanied with passion, as though no sober writers could be found to take a sober estimate of its merits. "Poisonous serpents," "a pestilential seed," "the breath of Satan," "a creature with many heads, but tails all tied in one," are stock official phrases by which the offenders are described in clerical documents, together with diatribes against their consuming pride, blindness, ignorance, rashness and stupidity. Our interest is awakened, and we wish to know more of this new phenomenon, and the methods adopted by these monsters to deceive the doves—these "tares," or "popils," sown by the Devil among the good seed—these spoilers, rending the seamless coat of Christ.

It is customary to speak of "Lollards" as a sect having a distinct and fixed teaching to propagate, and we are asked to believe that the prevailing official opinion of the time was right in its estimate of them, as a body of fanatics holding mischievous

[1] See the select cursings between Daw Topias (a Friar) and Jack Upland (a Lollard), in POL. SONGS, ii, 16-114. They pelt each other freely out of the Apocalypse. In the middle of the game the Friar curiously says (p. 57) :—

"Jak, thus to dabby with scripture, Me thinkith grete folie ;
For as lewid (ignorant) am I as thou God wote the sothe.
I know not an "a" From the wyndmyne,
Ne a "b" from a bole foot, I trow, ne thi self nither."

But the Lollard makes no such admission (pp. 59, 84) :—

"Than sayst thou here more lowly Than in any other place :
And here thou maist see I knowe a "b" fro a bole fote,
For I catche thee in lesynges That thou laist on the gospel."

opinions, [1]full of danger to civil society, as well as to the Church. But if we look dispassionately at such facts as can now be deciphered, we shall be compelled to reject this view, at least at the period of the history at which we have now arrived.

John Wycliffe, [2]"a passing ruely man, and an innocent in his living," had [3]died in 1384. He had set himself against the Supremacy of the Pope in England, against the Wealth of the Clergy, and the perverted and degrading travesty of Poverty exemplified in the practice of the begging Friars. He wrote and preached against Pluralities of Benefices, and other open scandals of the Church, against Image-worship, the Sale of Pardons, and Habitual Confession; and at the close of his busy life he preached openly that the substance of the bread in the Eucharist is not changed, but that the bread remains, though clothed with awe and mystery by the act of priestly consecration. But above all, he had opened a new well of authority in his translation of the Scriptures into English; and by his strictness of life, his courage, his subtlety in wit and argument, he had set ablaze a fire in men's minds that could not be put out. This was the only bond of union among those who came after him—the claim of reason to assert a higher truth, which all good men felt, but which the Churchmen dared not allow. [4]"Under the common name of 'Lollards' were gathered together every species of religious malcontent." The name was really a mere term of abuse, flung about as readily as "infidel," or "free thinker," now. Lollards were the "tares" sown by the Devil. That, at least, was the [5]interpretation then

[1] Hook, iv, 499; Rogers, i, 100. [2] English Garner, vi, 63. [3] For the story of his recantation, see Matthew, xlvii. [4] Fasciculus, lxvii. [5] Pestifere docrine *velut lollis* fidem corrumpentis.—Usk, 3. A collection of tracts, nearly contemporary with Wycliffe, entitled "A Bundle of Tares" (Fasciculus Zizaniorum), with the heading, "an enemy hath done this" (inimicus homo hoc fecit).—See Shirley's ed. "Rolls Series."

put by the learned upon a name which had long been a term of abuse in German and Dutch cities, where it seems at first to have [1]meant "mumblers," who chanted dirges over the dead.

In 1395, when the Convocation and the Parliament met in London, a lengthy anonymous document was found fastened to the doors of their meeting-places, at St. Paul's and Westminster. It was drawn up as [2]a "message" on behalf of Christ's poor, calling for a reform in the Church. It asserted that virtues had left the Church in proportion as its riches had increased; that the priesthood, as then composed, was not what Christ ordained; that priests should not be forbidden to marry; that transubstantiation tended to become idolatry; that to bless water, oil, salt, and the like, savoured more of magic than of religion; that Bishops should not be judges; that alms given in consideration of prayers for the souls of the dead were taken on false pretences; that pilgrimages, prayers and offerings to crosses and images, were next door to idolatry; that confession was an occasion for evil, and exalted priestly pride; that war and capital punishment were contrary to the teaching of the New Testament; that women should not take vows; that trades in luxuries, like the goldsmith's, or in instruments of destruction, like the armourer's, ought to disappear with the increase of virtue. "Having food and raiment, let us therewith be content."

None can now say to what extent Lollard opinions had then spread. In every town progress had been made. In 1389, the diocese of [3]Salisbury, with its manufacturing population, was seemingly most notorious, and the Bishop did nothing to interfere. Leicester and [4]Bristol (where John Purvey preached, the fellow-translator of the Bible with Wycliffe) were at another time infected, and in the early part of the reign of Richard II. it was

[1] MOSHEIM, i, 744. [2] Hæc est nostra ambassiata.—FASCICULUS, 360, 369; ANN., 174-183. [3] WALS., ii, 188. [4] USK, 3.

said that the [1]Londoners were nearly all Lollards, and that you could scarcely meet two men on the road, without one of them being a Wycliffite. We may be sure that each part of the country favoured the bold opponents of the clergy in different degrees, at different times, but it was chiefly in the largest towns that they found the readiest support. In 1404, when the Parliament was sitting in Coventry, and many strangers were in the town, much sickness arose in consequence; but many people (the King's servants among the rest) refused to bow their heads in the street when the Host was being carried along to the dying. [2]"Many of the puple in the strete turned her bakkes, and avaled not her hodes, ne did no manner reverens."

Priests and laymen alike were carried along with the force of the movement, and many foremost statesmen, holding public offices, were taunted as favourites of the new sect. The Earl of Salisbury, who had married the daughter of a Londoner, was called a Lollard, but he had fallen in rebellion, a victim to the mob at Cirencester. Sir Thomas Erpingham, the Chamberlain, was called a Lollard, but he had lately made his peace with the furious and fighting Bishop of Norwich, and would not be likely to stand persecution, even if required. Sir John Cheyne, late Speaker of the House of Commons, was called a Lollard, but he had yielded to the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and become a very harmless [3]enemy of the Church. In the diocese of Norwich, the Bishop, Henry Spencer, the "fighting [4]champion of the Church," had opened a campaign against the heretics, and vowed to make them "hop headless, or fry a fagot." But as yet the good Bishop had no such legal power, and the present seemed a propitious moment to secure it.

[5]Almost the very earliest official document signed by Henry,

[1] KNYGHTON. [2] CAPGR., 288. [3] STUBBS, iii, 17, adds Thomas Latimer, Lord Clifford, William Neville, the Cheynes, the Clanvowes. [4] "Pugil Ecclesiæ."—BLOMEFIELD, ii, 371. [5] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 24, dated October 1st, 1399.

on the second day of his reign, is an injunction to Sheriffs and Mayors, warning them to forbid any support being given to "certain evil-disposed preachers, holding diverse nefarious opinions, and detestable conclusions, repugnant to the canonical decisions and sanctions of Holy Mother Church, and redounding to the offence and discredit of the Orders of Mendicant Friars." The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury met for business in London, at St. Paul's, on Saturday, January 29th, 1401, and the Constable, the Chamberlain, and the Treasurer presented themselves before it as Commissioners from the King, asking prayers and contributions, directing the attention of the meeting to the dangerous Lollards, and promising the King's co-operation if steps were taken to suppress them. The records of this Convocation are of unusual interest, and we are fortunate in possessing, on official authority, a full [1]statement of the dangerous opinions held by four of these heretics (two of them priests and two laymen), three of whom recanted, after the fourth had been burned as an example and a warning.

It is stated in the official record that the Catholic Faith is founded in Christ, determined by the Apostles and the Church, but that it is injured by certain perverse men of a new sect, holding damnable opinions of the Faith, the Sacraments, and the authority of the Church, and preaching in opposition to [2]law, human and divine, under the garb of a feigned sanctity, publicly and secretly, within the kingdom; that they have illegal meetings, teach schools, write books, cause dissensions and divisions among the people, and, as far as they can, excite to insurrection and sedition, causing peril to men's souls, and loss and scandal to the kingdom; they defy and escape the Bishops, by moving from diocese to diocese, despising censures

[1] CONC. [2] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 18, contains a proclamation to the Sheriff of Essex, that no Chaplain, regular or secular, was to preach or sermonize contra legem ecclesiæ.

and all spiritual jurisdiction. Such is the grave and portentous indictment. Let us see how far the terms of it are borne out by the specific charges brought against each of these offenders, in detail.

(*a*) John Becket, a layman in the diocese of London, had asserted:

(1) That consecration in the Eucharist, or Baptism, was of no value if done by a priest living in mortal sin.

(2) That obedience was not due to the King, or his officers, if they were living in mortal sin.

(3) That marriages might be contracted apart from the rites of the Church.

(4) That the truly faithful in Christ will not bow to the cross, or the images of saints.

(5) That children may be confirmed by any priest, as well as by a Bishop.

(6) That priests may marry by the law of God.

(7) That monks and nuns may, of their free will, renounce their vows, and return to the world.

(8) That children may eat meat on Saturday, if their health requires it.

(9) That his own teaching was more likely to be edifying to others, and pleasing to God, than all the teaching of the Church in all previous times.

The poor man was frightened, and recanted (June 10th, 1401), and declared publicly that he believed the opposite of all this.

(*b*) John Purvey, "the [1]library of Lollards, and the gloser of Wycliffe," a parish priest in the diocese of Lincoln, had said:

(1) That the bread and wine remained after consecration, though they had become holy, like a convert after baptism.

[1] FOX, ACTS AND MON. (i, 708, iii, 285), quoting WALDEN, "in his second tome," probably FASCIC. lxviii; see "Pessimus glossator iste," ch. 83, p. 140, of WALDEN, vol. ii; but, in the absence of an index, it is difficult to discover the passage.

(2) That confessson and private penance was an "earwigging" *(auriculatio)* destructive of the liberty of the gospel, introduced in these late days by the Pope and the clergy, to entangle men's consciences in sin, and to drag down their souls to hell.

(3) That every holy man is a real priest, ordained by God to administer all sacraments necessary to man's salvation, without any imposition of Bishop's hands. Every holy priest is a bishop, and he who is most humble, and best fulfils the priest's duties, is a Pope by God's appointment, but the world never knows who he is.

(4) That Popes, Bishops, and priests, who live bad lives, have not the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Their censures may be disregarded like a serpent's hissing.

(5) Whoever has received the office of a priest, can, and must, preach God's gospel freely, without special license from Bishop or any other.

(6) If anyone have taken an oath or a vow of celibacy, or otherwise, and have not God's grace to fulfil it, such vow is irrational, and the person should be released from it, and left to the Holy Spirit and his own conscience for guidance.

(7) Decisions of Popes and Councils have no value unless they are grounded expressly on Holy Scripture, or on reason, and should be publicly burnt as heretical.

Purvey, also, after being [1] "grievously tormented and punished in the Archbishop's prison at Saltwood Castle," was induced to make a public recantation of all this mischievous doctrine, which he read before the people, in English, at sermon time, at Paul's Cross, on Sunday, March 6th, 1401. In August, 1401,

[1] FOX (i, 708), quoting WALDEN, "in his third tome," written 10 Martin V. (*i.e.*, 1426.) For a specimen of these official bullyings in the "foul and unhonest" prison at Saltwood, see the examination of William Thorpe (August 7th, 1407), in ENGLISH GARNER, vol. vi.

the Archbishop rewarded him for his faint-heartedness with the living of West Hythe, and afterwards ungenerously reviled him as a "false harlot."

(*c*) John Seynon, of Darnton, in the diocese of Lincoln, had been entangled into saying:

(1) That to bow to the cross was idolatry.

(2) That the sacrament of the altar was not Christ's body, but bread with no life in it, only instituted in memory of Christ's passion.

(3) That no amount of burning of heretics could change its nature, which remained bread, just as it was before.

He also recanted, on St. Elphege Day (April 19th, 1401), asserting that the very opposite propositions were true, including even the last, which appears solemnly on the record.

I presume that we have here some of the worst cases that could be produced. I have run the risk of wearying the reader by seeming to enter the meshes of theological polemics, but I have thought it better to give the whole of the charges, without omissions, just as they appear on the official record; and I assert that, with the exception of John Becket's second proposition, there is nothing here but what has long ago been admitted as true by the large majority of English-speaking people, and that, if false, the propositions were harmless, and might have been, with the greatest readiness, utilized and turned to good account by an educated Church, actuated by anything approaching a spirit of generosity or freedom. The second proposition of Becket, if really held, had nothing to do with the clergy, as such, at all, who never scrupled to join in sedition or rebellion, when it suited their interests to do so.

(*d*) William Chatrys (pronounced [1]Sawtery, or Sawtré) had been chaplain, or parish priest, of the parishes of St. Margaret's, King's Lynn, and Tylney. Monkish zealots, writing

[1] Eyes.

after his death, have blackened him as a [1]licentious man and a profligate, but there is no hint of this in the many and minute charges brought against him in the Convocation, and we may safely assume that this charge is the merest stale commonplace of clerical vituperation against all who were suspected of heresy. By his own [2]confession, we know that he did sometimes omit to say his matins, and his hours, in order to hear confessions, and to celebrate the mass, or to give the time to study and prayer; and that he had often sanctioned the abandonment of vows of pilgrimage, if commuted into sums of money to be distributed amongst the poor. He fell into the new opinions, and soon came under the notice of Bishop Spencer, of Norwich. Being [3]charged with heresy, and "diverse felonies and treasons," he was convicted and condemned to death, but he publicly recanted at Lynn, in 1399, and received a full pardon from the King (February 6th, 1400). After this he removed to London, where he became chaplain of the parish of St. Sythe, or St. Osyth, Walbrook, "a [4]small parish church near Cordwainer Street and Bucklersbury." Here his conscience would not let him rest, but he taught and preached, openly and secretly, the same or similar opinions to those which he had previously denounced as heresy. He was now called to answer before the Convocation, and on Saturday, February 12th, 1401, was charged with having taught the following eight dangerous propositions:

(1) That he would not adore the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ who suffered on it.

(2) That he would rather bow to a temporal King than a wooden cross.

(3) That he would rather honour the bodies of saints than the true cross, supposing it were before him.

[1] "Moribus execrabilis." "Ganeo."—ANN., 335. [2] CONC., iii, 257. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 16. [4] STOW, 276 *b*; NEWCOURT, i, 305.

(4) That he would rather worship a man confessing and repentant, than the cross of Christ.

(5) That he was more bound to worship a man whom he knew to be predestined, than an angel of God.

(6) That if anyone has made a vow to visit the holy places at Rome, or Canterbury, or anywhere else, to obtain some temporal benefit (*e.g.*, to be cured of some disease, or to secure some property), he is not bound to fulfil his vow literally, but may spend the money on the poor.

(7) That any priest or deacon is more bound to preach the word of God than to say the hours.

(8) That after the words of consecration in the Eucharist, the bread remains bread, and nothing more.

He thereupon asked to be supplied with a copy of the articles of charge, and to be allowed a fair time for consideration. Five days were allowed him, and on the following Friday (February 18th) he appeared before the Archbishop and the Convocation, to deliver his reply.

To the first charge he answered, that he was ready to bow to the cross as the sign and memorial of Christ's passion. To the second, third, and fourth, he answered, shortly, "Because it is wood." To the fifth, "Because man is of the same nature as Christ's humanity, but not so an angel;" nevertheless, he was willing to adore both angels and men. To the sixth he merely added: "subject to the sound advice of his superior." The seventh, he asserted, was "in accordance with an early ordinance of the Church," To the last he answered: "It remains bread, but bread plus the body of Christ. It does not cease to be bread, but it remains holy, true, and the Bread of Life. That I believe to be the very body of Christ." Here was the real test question, and had he yielded upon this he could have slipped safely through the net. He was asked: "Had he not abjured these same opinions before the Bishop of Norwich?"

To which he answered: "No." Then the test question was presented to him in its plainest terms: "Is it real bread after consecration?" To which he answered: "I do not know that, but the true bread is there, because it is the Bread of Life, which came down from heaven."

Here should have been enough to acquit him, had they been so minded, but the answer was not deemed satisfactory. The question was repeated twice more. Each time his answer was the same, and the matter was adjourned till the next day, Saturday, February 19th.

Again the same question was put, and often repeated. Again the same answer: "I do not know"—"I do not understand." When asked if he would submit to the decision of the Church on the subject, he answered: "Yes, if the decision was not contrary to the word of God." For three hours the examination was continued, but the poor heretic, with never a friend near him, budged not. "It [1]remains true bread, and the same bread as before." Hereupon the Archbishop, with the [2]assent of all present, pronounced him convicted, and to be punished as a heretic, and again there was adjournment till the following Wednesday. During the interval the Archbishop had his duties "in another place."

On Wednesday, February 23rd, the convicted man appeared again before the Convocation. The Bishop of Norwich produced evidence that the same opinions had been recanted by him when chaplain at Lynn two years before. The Archbishop asked him if he acknowledged this; to which he answered: "Yes." Had he anything to say against it? "No." Had he not abjured the heresy that the material bread remained after consecration? He answered, "with a [3]smile:" "No, he knew

[1] "Verus et vivus panis et idem panis qui ante."—CONC., iii, 256. [2] "Assensu totius consilii sui." [3] "Quasi ridendo sive deridendo."—CONC., iii, 258.

nothing of it." Was there any reason why he should not be pronounced relapsed? "None." The Archbishop, accordingly, pronounced him relapsed, and sentenced him to be deposed and degraded from all prerogative and privilege of clergy. He was then handed over to the custody of the [1]Mayor and Sheriffs of the city of London, to be kept by them in custody till his fate should be further decided.

On the following Saturday (February 26th), the Archbishop, fully robed, and accompanied by six bishops, sat in St. Paul's Church. A great crowd was present, and Chatrys was brought in, habited as a priest. The record of the proceedings of the past few days was read over aloud, in English, together with the sentence of relapse and degradation. The paten and chalice were taken from him. He was then stripped of his vestments—his stole, alb, maniple, and all emblems of ecclesiastical authority, whether as priest, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, [2]exorcist, reader or doorkeeper—a helpless and friendless victim in the clutches of an overpowering enemy.

And here, in truth, the legal power of the Church over him had ended. Left to himself, after undergoing this last unbearable indignity of professional degradation, the poor man's spirit would have probably soon again been broken. Unable to support his terrible isolation, and starved into a barren and unmeaning conformity, he might one day have been glad, [3]like many others, to beg his way back into one of the priest's offices, that he might eat a morsel of bread. But Archbishop Arundel had not been idle when absent on Parliamentary duties, during the frequent intervals and adjournments of Chatrys' examination at St. Paul's; and when all legal limits of church discipline had been exhausted, there was yet a further stretch of cruelty, which the King's Council had devised, and to which the temporal lords in Parliament were ready to assent.

[1] RYM., viii, 178. [2] "Holy water clerke."—FOX, i, 674. [3] FASCIC., lxvii.

On the very day, [1]February 26th, on which the victim was publicly degraded in St. Paul's Church, the King, on the application of the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed an order to the Mayor and Sheriffs of London, in whose custody the heretic was still detained. In it he set forward that the Church had done her all in proving the heresy, and handing over the heretic to the secular courts. He claimed to act in accordance with law, human and divine, with institutes canonical, and with recognized custom; and then, in the name of justice and of the Catholic faith, he ordered them to burn the heretic alive in some public place within the city of London, in detestation of his crime, and for an open warning to all Christian men.

This order has been represented as based upon the Statute against Heretics passed in this very Parliament, but a reference to dates will demonstrate at once that this is impossible. But, even when the impossibility is admitted, we are asked to assume that the warrant was based upon "a [2]special Act, proposed, perhaps, by the clerical party, in order to ascertain the feeling of the Parliament as to the larger measure which followed." But all this is pure and undiluted assumption, not countenanced by anything in the nature of a corroboration or proof. The warrant itself makes no mention of any Parliamentary sanction, and was, I am convinced, a mere arbitrary act of the King and his Council.

In appealing to custom and canon law, the Council would find no difficulty in searching for precedents in foreign countries. In the market place at Milan there might then be seen a statue, erected in 1232, in honour of a certain Mayor, or Prefect, and inscribed with this inscription: "He [3]did his duty, and burnt the Purists." In 1384, the [4]Cardinals who opposed

[1] RYM., viii, 178; CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 6. [2] SHIRLEY, in FASCIC., lxix; add GREEN, 258. [3] MURATORI, 17, 4, "Qui Catharos, ut debuit, uxit." [4] "Executio per ignem fieret," à Niem, in MILMAN, v, 417.

Pope Urban VI. were accused of being parties to a plot for seizing the Pope as a heretic, and *burning* him. In 1400, the [1]*pseudo*-Elias was burnt alive in Rome. In 1404, a [2]priest and three others (one of them a woman) were burnt in Paris, for having dealings with the devil. They had offered to cure Charles VI., but, failing to drive out the mania from twelve ordinary lunatics, they were publicly burnt. The burning of witches began about this time in Germany and Italy. One of the [3]leading Inquisitors for Spain and Sicily, writing about 150 years afterwards, calculates that at least 30,000 witches were burnt in that century and a half, who, "if they had gone unpunished, would have brought the whole world to ruin and waste." The hideous and demoralising spectacle of a public burning was no unusual punishment in France, and elsewhere, for aggravated offences, political as well as social. In 1390, the [4]Treasurer Bétisac was burnt at Toulouse, in presence of Charles VI., "amidst the acclamations of the people;" and in this very year, 1402, a [5]political impostor was burnt in Sweden, for personating the dead heir Olaf, and a [6]young and beautiful wife was burnt alive in Paris, for poisoning her husband. But the "burning [7]death" was the Church's special remedy against that "poysen that mortherith many soulis." He was the "constant [8]Catholike" who "all Lollard hatyth and Heretike." Christ's [9]gospel was ransacked and perverted to confirm wavering and half-hearted persecutors, and the people were taught that to "pursue an Heretike to fire or prison," was "more holsum than to halewe a chirche."

But in England, though by heated harangues and wordy

[1] USK, 93. [2] JUV., 425. [3] PARAMO, l, 2, tit. 3, ch. 4, No. 27, quoted in RINALDI, 281, Anno 1404. [4] MEZERAI, l, 959; MICHELET, ii, 299. [5] ROY. LET., i, 117. [6] JUV., 423. [7] "Combustiva occisione," in FASCIC., xxxiv. [8] Of the Duke of Albany.—WYNT., ix, 26, 63. [9] DAW TOPIAS, a Dominican Friar (in POL. SONGS, ii, 90), misquoting from MATT., iii, 10, vii, 19; JOHN, xv, 6.

arguments, men's thoughts had long become familiar with this "roasting [1]men to orthodoxy, and enlightening them with fire and faggot," yet in practice such a horror had never yet been [2]actually tried. The order was signed on February 26th, but was held over for a few days, to receive a short consideration, and formal sanction, from the Lords in Parliament. The Commons, as having no voice in judgments of the kind, were [3]not consulted. On the following Wednesday (March 2nd), the horrible order was finally issued. Time was pressing, and fears were entertained lest a mob should gather to the rescue.

Already there were ugly [4]rumours that Lollards from all parts of the kingdom were crowding to London, meditating an attack on the Convocation. But the promptness of the Archbishop forestalled all resistance. In the presence of death, Chatrys became [5]defiant, and in a wild tone had thundered out, in the name of God, denunciations against the King, the Archbishop, and the Clergy—that they should soon die a shameful death, and that the tongue of a strange nation should rule in their stead. He was taken to Smithfield, chained to a stake, fastened upright in a barrel heaped with faggots, and there, in the sight of a [6]vast crowd of gazers, the "merciful [7]cruelty" of the Church was gratified, and his body was burnt to charred and blackened ashes. My Lord of Canterbury, says a contemporary, "forewarned, [8]prepared due remedies against their malice;" and the "due remedies" were for the time a complete success. Chatrys' dying prediction proved idle boast; the

[1] COLLIER, i, 617, quoting TERTULLIAN, "Non est religionis religionem cogere." [2] Though GREEN (253) says:—"There were earlier instances in our history of the punishment of heretics by the fire." This has never been proved, and no single case has been discovered by "the scrutiny of controversial historians or of legal antiquaries."—STUBBS, iii, 353. [3] As asserted by DEAN HOOK (iv, 500), whose account is not to be praised for its accuracy. [4] USK, 4, where there seems no sufficient reason for altering the text. [5] USK, 57. [6] "Multis spectantibus."—ANN., 336. [7] GERSON (301), in his letter to Archbishop of Prague, in JOHAN COCHLÆUS HIST. HUS., p. 22, quoted in BONNECHOSE, I, 160. [8] USK, 4.

crowd dispersed; the King and the Archbishop did not soon die a shameful death, and no foreign nation came to take the kingdom. The first faggot fired quenched the zeal for martyrdom, and [1]London witnessed many edifying recantations. The triumph of authority was complete, and, ere the Convocation was dismissed, the Clergy sent up to the King their humble petition, on which was based the first black Statute against Heretics.

The petition, after setting forth the danger, makes the following suggestions, as necessary for a remedy:

(1) That none should preach within the kingdom without license obtained from a Bishop, under heavy penalty.

(2) That none should preach, teach, or hold, secretly or openly, anything contrary to the Catholic Faith, or the determination of Holy Church, or write any book, or hold meetings, or teach schools, under penalty to be fixed in Parliament.

(3) None to favour or support them, under penalty.

(4) All persons *reputed or suspected* of offending to be arrested by the Bishop of the diocese, and kept in his custody till they abjure; the Bishop to proceed publicly against them within three months from their arrest; then, if condemned, or relapsing after recantation, the King's officers shall take them over, and "take further action" *(ulterius agant).*

(5) All persons possessing their writings to give them up within a given time.

These wide-sweeping suggestions were taken up by the King, and embodied formally in a Statute, wherein it is ordained:

(1) That a Bishop may fine or imprison in his own prison, after conviction, *according to his discretion*, and the magnitude of the offence.

[1] Eulog., iii, 388.

(2) Heretical writings were to be delivered up within 40 days, under penalty of imprisonment or fine.

(3) If a heretic refuse to abjure, or, after abjuring, be pronounced to have relapsed, the Sheriff of the county, or Mayor of the city or town, shall take him and have him burnt before the people, in a public place, that the punishment may strike fear into the minds of others.

Such was the portentous work of the session of Parliament (2 Henry IV.) which closed on Thursday, March 10th, 1401. The clergy were content, and granted subsidies. The Commons thanked God for the King's wisdom, justice, and humanity, for his destruction of evil doctrine, and of the sect which preached it, and for the good and complete agreement between all estates of the realm. They only [1]prayed, in mitigation, that the new penal Statute should not be enforced before the coming Whitsuntide, in order that due time might be had for making known its provisions, by proclamation, throughout the country.

Soon after the Parliament closed, the King paid a short visit to his castle at Ledes, in Kent, where he remained from [2]March 30th till April 11th, 1401; and from thence he removed to [3]Windsor (April 19th).

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 479. [2] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 30, 31. [3] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 10.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RESTORATION OF ISABELLA.

DURING the winter (1400-1) the North had remained quiet, and Henry, after his failure of the past summer, was not anxious to do anything further to irritate the Scots. Negociations for an agreement had accordingly proceeded, without any break, on the Border. Three Commissioners from each side had met at Kelso, and arranged a truce, to date from December 21st, 1400, and friendly intercourse was kept up throughout the winter.

Commissioners passed and repassed, and negociations were actively continued. On [1]February 11th, 1401, messengers from the Duke of Albany entered England. [2]On March 18th, instructions were issued to Commissioners from England who were about to proceed to Scotland, while a return Commission of the Scots entered England on [3]April 26th. The Scotch King, and the Dukes of Rothsay and Albany, were at this time ready to maintain good relations with England, and to withdraw from too close alliance with France, but they were opposed by the Earl of Douglas, and "other [4]young lords." On [5]March 17th, John Cursoun, Henry's [6]"chief Esquire," and a member of the Council, was instructed to go to York, there to meet the Earl of Northumberland, and to proceed with him to Carlisle to witness the signing of the expected treaty with the Scots, and to report proceedings to the King.

On the [7]24th of March, the Earl of Northumberland wrote to the Council for extracts from records bearing upon the claim

[1] ROT. SCOT., ii, 156. [2] RYM., viii, 125; ROT. SCOT., ii, 157. [3] RYM., viii, 190; ROT. SCOT., ii, 158. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 53. [5] *Ibid*, i, 127. See his commission to make either treaty or truce (dated March 24th, 1401) in ROT. SCOT., ii, 157. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 135. [7] *Ibid*, ii, 53.

of the English King to the Overlordship of Scotland. In the meantime, it was intimated that the West March was not a favourable quarter for the negociations, as the influence of the war party among the Scots was strongest there, and the country was so destitute and bare that provisions could not be found. Indeed, so poor and wasted was the district that it was found impossible to collect the taxes levied by the recent Parliament, and the counties of [1]Cumberland and Northumberland, with the boroughs and cities situated in them, were altogether excused from paying the tenths and fifteenths, by special proclamations.

It was accordingly arranged that the Duke of Rothsay and the Earl of Northumberland, as representing each side, should meet at Melrose to negociate a Treaty of Peace, on April 25th. Both sides were thus prepared for a settlement. But just at this time it would seem that a change came over the policy of the Scotch Court. The Duke of Rothsay's name disappears from the negociations, and the Earl of Douglas, an enemy of the Prince, and the leader of the war spirits, was appointed in his stead.

The Commissioners met at [2]Gamlyspeth, at the head of Coquet Dale, on the 16th of May, but no terms were yet made for a final peace. It was proposed, however, that a truce should be agreed on, to begin on the following St. Martin's Day (November 11th), and to last for the year, subject to the consent of the respective Councils. On [3]June 8th, the Scotch Earl of March was at Worcester with Henry, and passed on to London, authorized to negociate certain matters with the Council, on the information of the Earl of Northumberland. Two hundred marks were to be sent to the castle of Lochmaben before June 24th, and before the end of the same month, both

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 9, 15, dated March 12th and 20th, 1401. [2] "Kemlyspeth," or "Kemelespeth."—ROY. LET., i, 52, 58. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 135.

[1]Cursoun and the Earl of [2]Northumberland were back in London. The English Council expressed their willingness that negociations should proceed.

A Scotch herald, named [3]Brice, or Bruce, had been seized (May 25th) and committed to the Tower, charged with uttering slanders against King Henry in France. On June 30th, [4]he was condemned to ride through London with his face turned towards his horse's tail, and then to have his tongue cut out; but Henry interfered, and sent him back unmutilated to his own country.

On [5]Monday, October 17th, a Conference was held at Yetham, in Roxburgh, at which both the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Douglas were present in person.

From the fine words and pious wishes with which the sittings of the Parliament had closed, one might, perhaps, think that the King's rule was taking root in the hearts of his subjects, and that something like gratitude was felt to him for a return of prosperity. A few scattered incidents of the year still stand on record to show that it was far otherwise.

It is not easy to see that Henry was personally responsible for the condition of the kingdom. For the first eighteen months of his reign he had been busy repressing repeated insurrections, and for this end money must be found. On entering the country two years before, with nothing but his personal influence at his back, he had, no doubt, been lavish of promises, which now he found it impossible to fulfil. In the South and West of England, while Bristol was still held for Richard by the Duke of York, he had held out expectations which, whether rightly or wrongly, were understood to mean a remission, or abatement, of taxation for the future. Accordingly, when the Parliament of 1401 was called upon to vote the usual

[1] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 144. [2] *Ibid*, i, 146. [3] Claus. 2 H. IV., 2, 20. [4] Usk, 62. [5] "Yhectham-kirke."—Roy. Let., i, 53.

tenth and fifteenth on all property, together with 2s. for every tun of wine imported, and 8d. in the £ (or 3⅓ per cent.) on all sales of goods effected throughout the kingdom, the vote was given "with [1]loud murmuring and inward cursing by the clergy and the people." At [2]Truro, at the head of Falmouth Harbour, there was great distress. The population was dying out, owing to the ravages of pestilence, and the destruction caused by attacks of pirates, both on the land side and also from the Harbour. If rated to the full amount of its tenth, the taxation of the town should have yielded £12; but the collectors were unable to get more than 50s., and with this they were obliged to be content. Complaints were also made that the royal [3]purveyors took for the King's use, without payment, "meat, wine, salted fish, herring, corn, fowls, hay, oats, and carriage."

On the other hand, owing to the failure of the harvest of the previous year, there was great scarcity of corn, and prices continually rose, till, about [4]Michaelmas, 1401, the price had doubled itself from one noble (6s. 8d.) to two (or in some cases three) nobles per quarter. "That [5]yere was a quarter of whett at xvj s. (16s.), the second dere yere." [6]Rye was largely substituted for wheat, and, to meet the scarcity, it was proposed in the Council, in [7]November, to admit foreign corn into the country *free of duty*, between then and the next Midsummer Day (June 24th). But the immediate demand for money made it impossible to experiment with any ordinary source of revenue. The proposal was withdrawn, and the duty, amounting at the time to 11d. in the £ (or nearly 5 per cent.), was retained.

The distress had indirectly some singular consequences. In

[1] USK. 59, 61. [2] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 34. [3] ANN., 337. For list, see ROT. PARL., iii, 507 (1403). [4] USK, 68, *i.e.*, from 10d. to 1s. 8d. or 2s. 6d. per bushel; EVES. (175) says: 2s. to 2s. 6d.; ROGERS (i, 218) calculates the average price of the quarter of wheat at 5s. 10¾d., for a period extending over 140 years, viz.: from 1261 to 1400. [5] CHRON. LOND., 10. [6] FAB., 389, probably from some London records. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 175, 179.

South Wales the insects did immense damage, destroying leaves and grass to such an extent that no provender was left for cattle. In [1]Glamorgan, however, some farmers scattered lime over the fields to destroy the insects, "so that they were not only thereby killed, but the ground being thus limed bore consequently astonishing crops of corn."

The [2]Archbishop of Canterbury issued orders to the Bishops throughout the country, to organize frequent processions, with ringing of bells and chanting of litanies, with large promises of the customary indulgence to all who should take part in them, hoping thereby to avert the anger of an offended God. But it is more than likely that these processions indirectly ministered to the general discontent, by gathering together crowds of persons in the public thoroughfares, and drawing prominent attention to the miseries of the people. According to a [3]contemporary, these zealous devotees were accompanied with bagpipes, and singing, and piping, and the jangling of bells, and the barking of dogs; and, "if they be a month out on their pilgrimage, many of them shall be a half-year after janglers, talebearers, and liars;" while the effect on the women who assisted at these functions was pithily put in the popular [4]proverb: "Who suffereth his wife to go seken halwes, is worthy to be honged on the galwes."

Disaffection showed itself in various ways: in plots, in sedition, in open riot, and insurrection.

While the Parliament was still sitting, one [5]William Clark, a native of Cheshire, but living then in Canterbury, had written some slanderous charges against the King. For this he was brought before a military court, and condemned. His tongue

[1] Iolo MSS., 452. [2] Conc., iii, 265, dated January 10th, 1402. [3] William Thorpe, in English Garner, vi, 64. Cf. "The Miller," in Chaucer:—

A baggepipe cowde he blowe and soune,
And therwithal he broughte us out of towne.—Prol., 565.

[4] Chaucer, "Wife of Bath," prol. 6239. [5] Usk, 57.

was torn out, his right hand cut off, and, "failing to prove his words," he was finally beheaded on Tower Hill.

Early in [1]September, a strange infernal machine (called a "caltrappe," or [2]a "hirun with thre braunchis"), having poisoned spikes, so arranged that they would pierce the body of whoever lay down upon it, was found concealed in the King's bed. The maker was discovered. He accused one of the servants of Isabella's late household, who also was questioned, but denied the charge. Both men were kept long in custody, and much alarm was felt, but ultimately both were set at liberty.

The orders issued in the previous February (1400), had not availed for the suppression of riots, and authority was still weak throughout the country. Even the King's own tenants were not safe under the shadow of his castles. At Bolingbroke, Wainfleet, and Skirbeck (in Lincolnshire), his turf was dug, his fish were poached, his dykes were broken, his meadows flooded, his watercourses obstructed, and his [3]tenants beaten. Poaching was carried on with impunity around Chesterton, in Cambridgeshire, a district well stocked with hares, rabbits, partridges, and [4]pheasants; while at Welington, in Derbyshire, the Prior of Rippingdon himself turned poacher, and carried off untold quantities of fish. In the South-western counties, and along the Border of Wales, great lawlessness prevailed. In [5]Monmouthshire, a mob broke into the castle of Usk, and violently released a prisoner. At [6]Abergavenny, three men were to be hanged for theft on Ascension Day (May 12th). The townspeople collected under the very gates of the castle of William Beauchamp, the [7]Justiciar for South Wales, keeping him

[1] Tribus longis illimatisque aculeis.—EVES., 176; TYLER, i, 83, from HEARNE MS.; KENNET, i, 284, calls it a "smith's tool." [2] CAPGR., 278. [3] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 24, November 25th, 1400. [4] *Ibid*, 2, 9. [5] USK, 60. [6] *Ibid*, 61. [7] See his appointment for life, dated October 30th, 1399, in PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 11.

and his wife [1]prisoners. The thieves were then rescued at the gallows, and Sir William Lucy, the officer sent to see the sentence carried out, was killed in the riot that ensued. [2]At Whitwell, in Derbyshire, Robert Rye and others lay in wait for one George Dirkes. Taking the alarm, Dirkes ran into the church, but was followed and murdered at the high altar. [3]The suburbs of Hereford were kept in terror by the raids of a highwayman, named Thomas Byton. [4]Similar alarms were felt at Newent, in Gloucestershire, and at Newenton, near Higham Ferrers. At [5]Colne, in Essex, two monks and a chaplain put themselves at the head of a mob, and attacked the park belonging to the Countess of Oxford. On the [6]4th of May, 1400, the house of Anise Poydras was broken into and pillaged, at Fownhope, near Hereford; while much damage was done on the Bishop of Hereford's domain, at Prestbury. From [7]Bromyard, in the same county, and Alvyng, in Devonshire, similar outrages were reported, the perpetrators of which could not be discovered; while the [7]main roads, in Warwickshire, between Birmingham, Stratford, Alcester, Coleshill, Walsall, and Dudley, were infested with bands of ruffians, with their coats turned, and their faces half covered with a headsman's mask. Armed with [8]"gladmeres," they attacked provision carts, or other vehicles, passing along the highroads between the towns. Manors belonging to such powerful [9]Abbots as those of Evesham and Westminster did not escape. In Northamptonshire, a rich landowner, Ralph Green, was intimidated, so that he could not get in his dues, while his property and manors at Ramides, Luswyk, Sudborough, and Brigstock, were destroyed.

In the cloth districts, it was found impossible to collect the

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 7. [2] *Ibid*, 3, 2. [3] *Ibid*, 1, 35, in tergo. [4] *Ibid*, 1, 38. [5] *Ibid*, 3, 14. [6] *Ibid*, 4, 11. [7] *Ibid*, m. 12, 13. [8] *Ibid*, 4, 14, more tortorum. [8] Probably some kind of sword. Cf. "Claymore." [8] PAT., 2 H. IV., 4, 18.

taxes. At [1]Dartmouth, a collector was attacked by the people, and only saved his life by timely escape in a small boat. At [2]Bristol, the collectors were driven off, the women taking part in the fighting. At [3]Williton, in Somerset, William Bodesham was beaten and ill-treated. At [4]Kentsford, near Watchet, in the same county, the Abbot of Cleeve and three monks put themselves at the head of an armed band of 200 men, and attacked Gilbert Bassynges, on "Thursday before Whitsuntide." At [5]Frome, it had become necessary to issue an order, confiscating all pikes, sticks with iron heads like lances, and axes with heads of iron or lead, before February 2nd. At Norton St. Philips, near Bath, the dealers in cloth flatly refused to pay the tax upon commodities, alleging the King's promise that it should not be re-imposed. A special officer, Thomas Newton, arrived, bringing letters of authority from the King. Unfortunately for him, he entered the place at a fair-time, when the people were all in the streets. Three times he endeavoured to obtain a hearing, but was set upon by the mob, and foully [6]murdered, together with his attendant. His body was found to be stabbed in a hundred places. Other officers who were with him barely escaped with their lives, while the townspeople rushed to other villages, inciting them to do the like.

In the Parliament, the King's attention had been [7]called (February 21st) to the danger arising from this turbulent spirit. He had promised enquiry, and, on the [8]17th of March, five members of the Council had been appointed to examine into the matter. But, though the Commission included three Bishops (one of them being the Chancellor of England), they

[1] USK, 61. [2] The EXCH. ROLL, TREAS. OF RECEIPT, MISC. $\frac{52}{16}$ contains depositions of witnesses as to riots in Bristol, much mutilated. [3] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 20, November 13th, 1400. [4] *Ibid*, 1, 33. [5] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 17, dated January 26th, 1400. [6] USK, 61, places the murder on May 1st; but it was certainly earlier, for the commission of inquiry is dated April 29th (PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 23). [7] ROT. PARL., iii, 417. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 127.

were powerless against the resistance of the country-people, and in the case of [1]Philip's Norton, a visit from the King himself was barely sufficient to overawe the rioters into a sullen submission.

There is still preserved an interesting private letter, addressed to Henry by a Churchman, one of his [2]intimate friends, to whom he had appealed to report to him, without reserve, anything [3]ominous that might come to his ears. The writer was Doctor Philip Repyngdon, Abbot of the Augustinian Abbey of St. Mary de Pré, at Leicester, and [4]Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He is called, in a contemporary document, "a [5]powerful man and a God-fearing, loving truth and hating avarice." In his earlier days he had been a [6]friend of Wycliffe, and a leader among his supporters at Oxford, under whose influence he had striven to breathe a modern spirit into the monastic life, asserting that it was too much fettered by formal observances, that the distinctive dress should be abandoned, and that the life of monks and preachers should be brought more into harmony with the actual conditions of society around. For these radical notions he was denounced as a [7]"madman" by the monks and friars. But after the condemnation of the doctrines of Wycliffe he had [8]recanted, and he was subsequently enticed away from them by the persuasion of some eminent persons, and lived to become an [9]Abbot, a [10]Bishop, and a Cardinal.

[1] Usk, 61. [2] "Clericus specialissimus illustrissimi principis D. Regis Henrici."—Fast. Oxon, ii, 35. [3] "Si qua sinistra audirem, ea vestræ excellentiæ significarem indilate."—Bekynton, i, 151. [4] Rym., viii, 164. [5] Fast. Oxon, ii, 35. [6] Wals., ii, 57, 66 (1382). See his life (very inaccurately) sketched in F. Williams' (ii, ch. 1) "Lives of English Cardinals." [7] See the doggerel poem, by a Benedictine, turned Lollard (circ. 1385), in Mon. Fran., App. xi, 601 :—

Nichol Herford asserunt hereticum profanum,
Et Philippum Repyndon proclamant insanum.

[8] Fascic., xliv; Wycl., xxix; Pol. Songs, i, 262. [9] 1394.—Fascic., lxxvi. [10] *i.e.*, of Lincoln, 1404.—Monast., *s. v.*

Repyngdon's [1]letter is dated May 4th, 1401. He had been staying with the King. Henry was fond of the society of literary men. One of his biographers [2]says that he spent much of his day in solving knotty problems in moral philosophy, and the few original letters that we have of his show some scholarship, and acquaintance with the [3]learning of the time. He invited the French poetess and historian, Christine de Pisan, to his Court. He had the friendship of Gower (to whom he [4]granted two pipes of wine annually), then a blind old man *(senex et cæcus)*; and one of the very first acts of his reign, four days after his recognition by the Parliament, was to grant an annuity (dated October 3rd, 1399) of 40 marks per annum to old Geoffrey [5]Chaucer, who was closing his days weighed down with debt and embarrassment; while, a few days later, the poet Thomas Hoccleve, who was then one of the younger clerks in the office of the Privy Seal, received £10 per annum for life, or till such time as he should be promoted to a benefice yielding [6]not less than £20 a year.

Repyngdon had had some conversation with the King as to the condition of the country, but, in order to clear his conscience, he now put the substance of it in writing, in the "hie stile as whan that men to Kinges write."

He asserts that Law and Justice are in exile, and that "tyrannous [7]caprice" has taken their place; that thefts, murders, and adulteries abound, oppression of the poor, quarrels, and contentions; that the King's promise to protect his subjects,

1 The letter is printed in BEKYNTON (i, 151), from MS. in LAMBETH LIBRARY (ccxi). It has been incorporated into the CHRONICLE OF ADAM OF USK (pp. 63-67), who inserts it in its proper place, but nowhere claims to have written it, though this is assumed without hesitation by his Editor (p. viii). Adam was a friend of Repyngdon.—See their joint commission to Nuneaton, in 1400 (p. 77). 2 CAPGR., "De Illustr. Henr.," 108. 3 *e.g.*, ROY. LET., i, 422, 374. 4 PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 33, November 21st, 1399; CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 5. 5 PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., PASC. (June 5th, 1400) records payment of 100s. to Geoffrey "Chauncer." *(sic)* 6 PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 21, November 12th, 1399. 7 "Tyrannica voluntas."

and defend them from their enemies, had been forgotten; that those who, two years before, had shouted welcome to him, as a Christ triumphant, entering to claim his kingdom, now stand weeping and wringing their hands. For his neglect in governing, God had sent on the land dire judgments. The people, like wild beasts, without rule or reason, take justice into their own hands. Against nature, they seize the reins of government from their betters, and rage savagely against all classes alike; and unless the King will deign to awake to punish their excess, "I greatly fear," says the writer, "lest the soldiery must interfere, and 20,000 of your subjects be killed in one place alone before the sword can be put up again."

This letter has been very highly praised for its fearlessness. "It may be doubted," says a modern [1]eulogist, "whether the annals of the Church present a more worthy example of religious duty well discharged." But it is more than doubtful whether the Abbot ran the very slightest risk in committing to writing what was in everybody's conversation. The Parliament and the Council were well aware of the disordered state of the country, and lost no opportunity of urging it upon the notice of the King. No one wanted to try the Abbot, or tear his tongue out, or cut his right hand off. The document was a harmless remonstrance, addressed to an amiable and friendly patron. Amidst a mountain of compliments and pious phrases, it contained no single wise recommendation, and suggested no remedy beyond the use of force. So far as we can see, it produced no practical effect whatever, but was laid among the King's private papers, from whence it was unearthed two generations afterwards by Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry's grandson.

A more effectual means of restoring tranquillity to the country had already been taken by the Council. On the [2]4th

[1] Editor.—BEKYNTON, lxii. [2] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 16.

of March, a strong Commission had been appointed in each county, on the authority of various acts of Parliament, with power to imprison all who went about armed, or who lay in wait, and all who gave liveries for maintenance, or otherwise; to call before them all victuallers *(hostellarii)* suspected of using false weights or measures. They were to have power to overrule or dismiss all Bailiffs, Sheriffs, Mayors, Constables, and Keepers of Gaols, if they were found to be remiss in their duties. The only restrictions put upon the Commissioners were that they should call in the help of the Judges in difficult cases, and report the reasons for their decisions to the King. Under the influence of these special powers, the government gradually recovered its strength, and the country its normal repose.

In the meantime, Henry's influence had not declined abroad. During this year (1401) he continued his negociations with the Emperor Rupert, for the marriage of his daughter Blanche. In a flattering [1]letter, addressed to the Emperor by an enthusiast in Venice, he is specially complimented on the coming marriage, as bringing under his influence "the most warlike of nations." On [2]April 4th, 1401, representatives were sent to Dordrecht. They met [3](June 7th), and agreed upon terms which should be ratified on both sides before August 15th. On [4]July 2nd, twelve German nobles gave security at Mayence for providing Blanche with a dowry from lands and castles at [5]Germersheim, Neuenburg, and Hagenbach, estimated to yield at least 4,000 nobles per annum; and ratifications were duly exchanged on [6]August 16th, without any break in the friendly arrangements, although the King of [7]Aragon was ready

[1]Dated March 2nd, 1402 (Rupert was then in Italy).—MARTENE, i, 1699. "Bellicossimum genus." [2]ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 128. [3]RYM., viii, 200. [4]*Ibid*, viii, 205. [5]*Ibid*, viii, 237, 247. [6]*Ibid*, viii, 221. [7]MARTENE, i, 1690, 1694.

with an alternative proposal for marrying his sister to Louis, in case the negociations for Blanche should fall through.

On [1]December 1st, 1401, orders were issued calling for the feudal aid claimable from the holders of land in England, to provide the Princess with a marriage portion, to be handed over in [2]Cologne by the middle of the following February. But there was great difficulty in getting in the money. [3]Force was to be employed, if necessary, and to make up the required sum [4]advances had to be taken on the Customs, wherever any money could be obtained. On [5]February 5th, 1402, the Emperor, who was then in Italy, vainly attempting to crush the opposition of the Duke of Milan, and to secure the Imperial crown at the hands of the Pope, wrote to Henry from Padua, asking his co-operation, and requesting specially that he would send him 2,000 men-at-arms, at his own cost, to protect the passages of the Rhine, and the roads between Zwolle and Liége, against the Duke of Burgundy, if required. Pressed though Henry was, for want of money and men, he seems really to have been willing to accede to the request. Two thousand archers were actually prepared, and would have started for the Rhine; but a subsequent letter (dated [6]April 24th, 1401) showed that there was no need for their services, as the Emperor, having failed in Italy, was on his way back to Germany, where he felt strong enough to hold his own without English help. He was ready, therefore, to take the will for the deed.

In 1401, Henry was engaged in negociations with Margaret, Regent of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. His Ambassadors, Richard, Bishop of Bangor, and John Perant, were at the old [7]royal city of Roeskilde, near Copenhagen, on [8]June 16th,

[1] RYM., viii, 232. [2] *Ibid*, viii, 237. [3] *Ibid*, viii, 242. [4] ROY. LET., i, 90. —RYM., viii, 245. [5] MARTENE, i, 1686. [6] *Ibid*, i, 1700. [7] "Dives quondam urbs, nunc oppidum Regum sepulchris clarum."—CLUVIER, 229. [8] ROY. LET., i, 67, referring to instructions to return to England by Easter last past.

1401, and had been there for some months previously; but the purport of their mission will be better seen in the sequel.

In the same summer, Henry agreed to befriend and protect the inhabitants of Friesland against the threats of their neighbour, Albert, Count of Holland. The Count of Holland claimed to be [1]Lord of Friesland, but, after unsuccessfully invading their country, he had been compelled to compromise his claim, and assent to a truce to last for six years (from 1400). The inhabitants of the Estergau and Westergau of Friesland now petitioned the King of England to protect them against the piratical attacks of the Count of Holland upon their trade, by means of "likedelers," or reprisals. Their petition is dated [2]May 19th, 1401, and Henry returned them a favourable answer on August 30th, though the terms of it were subsequently modified by the Council [3](November, 1401), to guard themselves against seeming to be hostile to the Count of Holland, with whom they still maintained relations of friendship.

In the summer of 1400, a Prussian trading vessel from the Baltic had been captured by some Scots, who were cruising in the North Sea. The whole of the contingent, including the Prussian vessel and cargo, afterwards fell into the hands of the men of Lynn. Hereupon, Conrad of Jungingen, General of the Order of Teutonic Knights, to whom belonged the government of the Prussian coasts of the Baltic, assuming that the English were the first offenders, proceeded to reprisals, seizing the goods and imprisoning the persons of several English merchants engaged in trading in the Baltic ports. This led to a moderate [4]remonstrance from Henry to the Grand Master, with whom he had personally served some years before. In it he explained the circumstances, and, referring to the importance of mutual good understanding between trading communities, he prayed

[1] DAVIES, i, 182. [2] RYM., viii, 193. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 175. [4] RYM., viii, 203, dated June 8th, 1401.

that there might be no breach of friendship between the two countries, and claimed that the English should be immediately set at liberty.

The tedious negociations with France seemed to be at length approaching a conclusion. Isabella remained, closely guarded, at Havering-at-Bower, and for some time the [1]news of Richard's death was kept from her; but of her life during all this time no record remains. Meanwhile, there had been no pause in the communications between the two Kings. Ambassadors from both sides had met at [2]Lenlingham, a Border village near Andreselles and Ambleteuse, midway between Boulogne and Calais. Their meetings had been adjourned till Monday in Whit-week, viz.: May 23rd, 1401. On April 1st, instructions were again issued to the English representatives:

(1) To treat for the return of Isabella.

(2) To obtain redress for the infringement of Henry's rights in the Duchy of Guyenne.

(3) To require payment of the outstanding ransom for John, King of France, after deducting therefrom "certain debts," due by Henry to Charles.

This last provision was intended to secure a compromise in reference to the disputed repayment of the money paid by the French King to Richard, during the two years which intervened between his marriage and his death.

[3]Instructions were also forwarded, authorizing Lord Say, one of the English envoys, to proceed, if necessary, to Paris, and confer in person with the French King or his uncles.

In due time the envoys from each side met at Lenlingham,

[1] FROIS., iv, 321. [2] Spelt "Lollingham," in PELLS ISSUE ROLL PASCH., 4 H. IV., July 17th; or "Lullingham," in CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 13; or "Leulingham."—EULOG., iii, lxiii. [3] See Henry's letter (dated Wallingford, May 20th, 1401), in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 129. Instructions were to be sent at once, so as to arrive at Calais by Tuesday, May 24th at latest.

and on [1]May 27th a formal bond was signed, by which it was agreed:

(1) That by the 1st of July following, Isabella should be at Canterbury or Dover, on her way home; that she should afterwards cross without delay, by the first fair wind to Calais; that on July 6th, the envoys should meet again at Lenlingham, to hear the recital of Charles' letter of quittance, and that, if the terms were satisfactory, French messengers should proceed to Calais, taking with them an inventory of the jewels and belongings, to make arrangements for removing them, and for the formal restoration of Isabella.

(2) That on the day after Isabella had entered Boulogne, or [2]St. Omer, or any other French stronghold, she should sign a bond undertaking to abstain for the future from all opposition, intrigue, or evil intention towards England.

(3) That four days after the actual restoration of Isabella the envoys should meet again at Lenlingham, to discuss any further matters in dispute, notably in connection with the claim made by Charles for the repayment of the 200,000 francs, and the objection raised by Henry against the action of the French King in reference to Guyenne.

And now the matter was, at length, seriously taken up by the English Council. The [3]Duchess of Ireland, and the Countess of Hereford, were to take charge of the young Queen in her journey across, and careful estimates were submitted of the necessary cost of transit. The Bishops of Durham and Hereford, with the Earl of Worcester and the Earl of Somerset (as [4]Captain of Calais), were to conduct her, together with a vast escort of bannerets, knights, and ladies, with their esquires, pages, and maids. A safe-conduct was granted on [5]June 21st,

[1] TILLET, 107; RYM., viii, 194. [2] RYM., viii, 196. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 130. [4] RYM., viii, 229. [5] *Ibid*, viii, 195.

for as many as 500 persons, and the total estimated expense for wages, gold and silver vessels, carpets, tents, and other apparatus, amounted to [1]£8242 os. 10d. The harness, equipage, servants, and all other necessary accompaniments, were to be conveyed from London [2]without any payment of the ordinary dues. [3]Horses were to be bought, or requisitioned, for the journey. The [4]Cinque Ports were to provide three transports (or barges), and two armed vessels (or [5]balingers), to be ready in the harbour at Dover, by July 1st. From the beginning of the year these preparations had been in hand, and as far back as the [6]15th of April, nearly £100 had been paid to the men of Dover, on this account alone.

The [7]King was at Worcester, on his way to put down the insurrection in Wales. He sent orders to the Prince of Wales, and others who might have any of the jewels in their possession, to forward them to London without delay, and signified his intention of returning to the capital before the end of the month. He was delayed at [8]Wallingford (June 21st), but, hastening forward, he spent the night of Friday, June 24th, at Windsor, and on the following day (Saturday, June 25th) he arrived at Westminster, to attend a Council which had been [9]summoned to meet on that day.

In the Council, opinion was much divided. It seemed, even at the last moment, as though difficulties would again arise. [10]Encounters between English and French ships were frequent on the seas. [11]Letters of marque and reprisals were in force on both sides. In the Public [12]Record Office there are still preserved bundles of papers, giving information of a descent of the French upon the coast of Sussex, together with complaints

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 154. [2] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 9, dated June 28th, 1401. [3] RYM., viii, 194, May 14th, 1401. [4] *Ibid*, viii, 204. [5] ROY. LET., i, 195. [6] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, PASC., 3 H. IV., £92 6s. 8d. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 133, June 8th, 1401. [8] *Ibid*, i, 143. [9] *Ibid*, i, 165. [10] USK, 67. [11] RYM., viii, 220, 230. [12] EXCH. TREAS. OF RECEIPT, $\frac{42}{17}$ $\frac{21}{18}$

of robberies committed by the English upon French merchant ships. Orders had been [1]sent (June 8th) to have armed vessels in readiness, to prevent plundering on the coasts, and it became necessary to decide what instructions should be given to the envoys, in case the subsequent negociations which were to be held immediately after the restoration of Isabella should not proceed amicably. Having regard, however, to the deplorable condition of the country, the scarcity of money, and the general inexpediency of keeping open any cause of irritation with France, the warlike spirits were outvoted, and all arrangements were completed for at once carrying out the terms of the agreement, in so far as related to the restoration of Isabella.

On Monday, June 27th, the Earl of Worcester went out to meet her at Tottenham, and from thence conducted her towards London in the afternoon. At four o'clock they reached [2]Stamford Hill, where the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen of London were waiting for them. At Hackney the cortége was met by the King's son, Prince Thomas, with the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and, thus attended, Isabella reached Westminster, where she rested for the night. The poor girl, whether influenced by policy or prompted by natural feeling, [3]showed no readiness to forgive or to forget. Dressed in deep mourning black, she remained sullen and morose. In Henry's presence she scarcely opened her lips, but shrank from him, pouting and distressed.

On the next day (Tuesday, June 28th), she passed through London on her way to the coast. Her mournful dress and gloomy face revived sleeping memories, and she passed amidst no friendly greetings from the crowd, [4]who dated the troubles of the country back to the time of her first entering it, six years before, and augured from her present looks that she would stir the future for revenge.

[1] ORD. PRIV. Co., ii, 56. [2] "Sandeford Hill."—ORD. PRIV. Co., i, 145. [3] USK, 61. [4] FROIS., iv, 320.

Still there was yet a month's delay, during which the relations between the two countries were in the balance. Isabella remained at [1]Dover, but at length the last difficulties seemed removed, and on [2]July 28th she crossed the Strait with all her retinue, and landed at Calais. Here she stayed three days, and was then [3](July 31st) conducted to Lenlingham, where a richly furnished tent was provided for her. The envoys from both countries were present, with their retinues, amidst great [4]magnificence and display.

During the whole interview Isabella was in tears, and the ladies on both sides showed much emotion. After an interchange of official documents, and of personal [5]gifts of trinkets and mementoes, the English ladies withdrew, with many tears and [6]embraces. Outwardly, there seemed every appearance of confidence and peace, but behind a neighbouring hill there lay in ambush the [7]Dukes of Burgundy and Bourbon, with 500 armed men, ready to fall upon the party and carry off Isabella by violence, if the English should seem to be playing false. The Earl of Worcester led her by the hand, advancing from the tent. On the other side, the Earl of St. Pol, as [8]Governor of Picardy, met them, bearing a [9]letter of quittance from Charles, releasing Henry from all obligation, except in reference to the 200,000 francs. To balance this, the English claim for [10]payment of the unpaid ransom of King John was also kept open for future contingencies. Then, with a formal interchange and public proclamation, the meeting broke up. The English

[1] MS. LEBAUD, in TRAIS., 107. [2] USK, 67; CRET. (416) says: Tuesday, July 25th. [3] FOREIGN ACCOUNTS, 1-6 H. IV., quoted in Pref. EULOG., iii, lxiii. Quo die predicta nuper regina restituta fuit patri suo regi Franciæ apud Leulyngham. [4] Auquel lieu les François l'attendoient entr. belle ordonnan. et arroy. — TRAIS., 107. [5] "Multis muneribus dotata."— EULOG., iii, 387. [6] "Et proient les Anglois congé d'elle pleurans, à grosses larmes, et la bonne dame aussi pleuroit et plusieurs des assistans."— JUV., 420. Cf. CRET., 416. [7] CRET., 420. [8] MONSTR., i, c. 4. [9] RYM., viii, 196, dated June 3rd, 1401. [10] It was revived in the subsequent negociations at Martinmas.—RYM., viii, 230, 315.

returned to Calais, and the French to Boulogne, two of the English envoys and a public notary going with them.

On the evening of the same day, in the monastery of St. Mary, at Boulogne, Isabella herself, in the presence of the Bishop of Chartres, signed a bond, and made a declaration on oath, that she would never favour or assist any attempts, on behalf of herself or others, to require fulfilment of the terms of her marriage treaty, excepting always the claim for the restoration of the 200,000 francs. Two days later, [1](August 3rd), an agreement was signed by the envoys on both sides, at Lenlingham, arranging that the further questions as to hostilities in Guyenne, and on the coasts of Picardy and Normandy, should be amicably discussed in the respective localities, on St. Martin's Day (November 11th) next following. The [2]Duke of Burgundy, as representing the King of France, had previously expressed his great disapproval of the frequent breaches of the peace by French subjects, and [3]Admirals were appointed on the English side to see that the truce should henceforward be observed. In the meantime, representatives were to be chosen, and all hostilities to cease by land and by sea.

Isabella was then conducted through Abbeville, on her way home. In [4]every place through which she passed she was welcomed with demonstrations of delight. Approaching Paris, she was met by the royal Dukes, and passed through the city amidst feasting and rejoicing, [5]"for all the people had great desire to see her," till her father and mother received her with tears of joy, in the old hostel of St. Paul. No sooner was she safely back amongst her friends than a document was drawn up in her name, denying that she had ever recognized Henry as the lawful successor to her late husband, Richard, and protesting that her signature and consent had been

[1] RYM., viii, 219. [2] ROY. LET., i, 217. [3] RYM., viii, 213. [4] JUV., 420. [5] TRAIS., 107

secured "from fear of death, and to avoid the danger of [1]shame and violence."

To Henry, the gain from this dreary transaction was thus little indeed. He had, it is true, restored the child to her friends, after it had become evident that all chance of marrying her with one of his own sons was gone. But, in a time of great embarrassment at home, he had given up a valuable [2]guarantee for peace abroad. At a moment when he was pressed in all directions for money, he had lavished an immense sum ineffectually, upon idle display; he had left open burning questions, to be settled or not at the discretion of an ungenerous and revengeful enemy, and [3]within a fortnight from the time when the last indenture was signed on his behalf at Lenlingham, he was constrained to call together a great Council [4](August 15th) to arrange a renewed attack against the nation whom he ought now to have been able to reckon amongst his friends.

Indeed, [5]at the very time that Isabella was halting at Dover, a fleet of 50 ships was collecting at Southampton, nominally to convey the Earl of Rutland, as Lieutenant, to Aquitaine, but really to strengthen his position in the event of an unfavourable turn in the negociations; while the Earl of Rutland himself made careful [6]arrangements in reference to his property, in case he should die before returning home from his command.

[1] "Honte et villenie." See the document in TRAIS. (277), from ARCHIVES DU ROYAUME, J. 649 ART. 18. [2] "Le dit Roy Charles n'eust fait guerre audit Roy Henry, *pour le gage qu'il avoit*."—TILLET, 313. "Pour laquelle trahison et orrible maulvaistié vengier, la royne d'Angleterre tournée par deça, est née à present nouvelle guerre entre François et Anglois."—CHRIS. DE PIS., ii, ch. xiii, written in 1404. [3] MONSTR., i, c. 4. [4] USK, 67. [5] PAT., 2 H. IV., 4, 19, dated July 13th, 1401. [6] *Ibid*, m, 15, dated August 24th.

CHAPTER XII.

CONWAY

WHEN the Parliament had risen, on the 10th of March, great [1]irritation was displayed in London against the Welsh. It was known that strong measures were in contemplation, and it was rumoured that all intercourse between Welsh and English was about to be prohibited, that marriages between the two peoples were to be absolutely forbidden, and that no Welshman was to be allowed henceforth to settle on English soil. Such drastic remedies were, fortunately, not attempted, but the state of the Border at once engaged the serious attention of the Council.

On [2]March 22nd, 1401, the following Ordinances were drawn up and published, for the future government of Wales, in consequence of the insurrection of the inhabitants in the North:

(1) All Lords of Castles in North or South Wales, were to have them well guarded, on pain of forfeiture.

(2) No Welshman henceforward was to be a Justice, Chamberlain, Chancellor, Seneschal, Receiver, Chief Forester, Sheriff, Escheator, Constable of a Castle, or Keeper of Rolls or Records. All such offices were to be filled by Englishmen, who were to reside on the spot.

(3) The people of each district were to be strictly held responsible (as they had formerly been by an old local custom) for all breaches of the peace in their neighbourhood, and were to be answerable in their own persons for all felons, robbers, and trespassers found there.

(4) All felons and evil-doers were to be at once given up to

[1] USK, 59. [2] RYM., viii, 184.

justice, and might not be sheltered on any pretext by any Lord in any Castle.

(5) The Welsh people were to be taxed and charged with the expense of repairing and maintaining walls, gates, and Castles in North Wales, when wilfully destroyed, and for refurnishing and keeping them in order (at the discretion of the owner) for a term not exceeding three years, except under special order from the King. (This [1]provision was certainly enforced throughout the country during this year.)

(6) No meetings of Welsh were to be held without the permission of the chief officers of the Lordship, who were to be held responsible if any damage or riot ensued.

(7) The gifts called "*Kwmwrth*," or "collections" *(coïllages)*, exacted for the maintenance of minstrels or bards, were in future to be strictly forbidden.

The [2]sums claimable from the people had been long previously arranged according to a fixed scale. These bards were an important factor in the insurrection, and must in some way be reckoned with. They passed from place to place, claiming their maintenance from the people, and [3]preaching resistance to the English. It was, therefore, now ordered that all minstrels, bards, rhymers, or other strolling Welsh, should be absolutely forbidden to roam about the country, on penalty of imprisonment for one year.

These Ordinances were meant to strengthen the two weak joints through which the English power in Wales might at any time receive its death blow. A handful of English lords were planted in strongholds, or isolated castles, amidst an alien people. To keep these castles in constant readiness for defence, and to prevent any concerted action amongst the scattered

[1] USK, 68. [2] See the scale fixed at the Eisteddvod, at Caerwys, A.D. 1100, in STEPHENS, 340. [3] "Les queux par lour divinations, messonges et excitations sount concause de la Insurrection et Rebellion, qu'ore est en Gales."—ROT. PARL., iii, 508, November, 1403.

subject population, was the first necessity, if the English power was not to be swept away.

The government of North Wales was administered by the Prince of Wales, and a Council, whose headquarters were at Chester. The leading member of this Council, both as to power and activity, was Henry Percy, eldest son of the Earl of Northumberland. He was now a man of about thirty-five years of age, and had long since made his mark as a raider on the Northern Borders, against the Scotch. He was associated with his father in the Wardenship of the Eastern March of Scotland, towards Berwick, and had seen much service, both in the Court and in the field. On Henry's accession to power he had been made [1]Justice of North Wales, and [2]Constable of the Castles of Chester, Flint, Conway, Denbigh, and Caernarvon. On [3]October 29th, 1399, he was appointed Scrutator, or Supervisor, of the castle of Chester and the county of Flint, for life. On [4]November 1st, 1399, he received the close of Inglewood, for life, together with the [5]custody of the lands of Bertram Monboucher. Besides this, he had a grant of the whole island of [6]Anglesea, with the castle of Beaumaris, which had previously been in the hands of the Earl of Wiltshire. His time was chiefly spent at Denbigh, and the other posts were filled by deputies responsible to him.

It will be remembered that at the close of the previous year the Welsh leaders showed no signs of submission on the departure of the King, but maintained themselves in the mountains of Caernarvon, robbing and plundering as occasion offered. In the early spring, two brothers, [7]William and Rees ap Tudor, from Anglesea, who had been specially excluded from the King's pardon, received information that the strong

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 146. [2] See his appointments, dated October 23rd, 1399, in PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 6; and April 24th, 1400, in PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 16. [3] *Ibid*, 1 *m*, 8. [4] *Ibid*, 2, 32. [5] *Ibid*, 2, 34. [6] *Ibid*, 4, 7, October 12th, 1399. [7] USK, 60.

castle of Conway was [1]neglectfully guarded. The garrison [2]consisted of 15 men-at-arms and 60 archers, under the command of John Massy, of [3]Puddington. On the evening of Good Friday, April 1st, 1401, the captain and all the garrison, except five, were [4]attending service in the town church. An entrance was effected into the castle by a Welshman disguised as a carpenter; the two warders were killed; William ap Tudor, with [5]Howel Vaghan ap Madok ap Howel and [6]some 40 other desperate men were admitted, and the castle, with [7]abundance of provisions, fell into the hands of the Welsh. [8]Rees ap Tudor, with his band of rebels, remained in reserve among the neighbouring mountains.

Straightway a strong force, under Henry Percy and the Prince of Wales, advanced to recover the castle. The funds were provided by Percy [9]at his own cost, "without the assistance of anyone, except the people of the country." The townspeople remained loyal, and in a short time the Welsh found themselves strictly [10]besieged in Conway Castle. A brisk defence was kept up, in which the town suffered severely from the engines, and the townsfolk were put into no friendly mood by seeing their houses burnt over their heads.

Little progress, however, was made by the besiegers, and as the castle had been well provisioned, and all had fallen into the hands of the rebels, it was expected that the besieged could not be brought to terms before [11]November. Arrangements were accordingly made for 120 men-at-arms and 300 archers to

[1] "En defaute de vostre conestable d'icelle." — ROY. LET., i, 71. [2] ORIG. LET., i, 14, The cost amounted to 39s. 2d. per day, or £714 15s. 10d. per annum. [3] Or "Podyngton" (PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 3); or "Potyngton" (PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 4). [4] TRAIS., 284, from MS. HARL., 1989, fol. 381. [5] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 13. [6] See their names, in RYM., viii, 209. [7] USK, 60. "Victualibus instructum." Cf. "Forsprys viaunde et boen. qu'ils dispenderent pont. cy et celle temps." [8] Sir H. Nicholas seems to have mistaken Rees for the name of a castle.—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, xv. [9] TYLER, i, 99, quoting PELLS ROLL, April 19th, 1401. [10] Per principem et patriam obsessi."—USK, 60. [11] ROY. LET., i, 70.

remain before the place, with the intention of reducing it by famine. The defaulting captain, John Massy, was declared an outlaw, though he received a pardon [1]after the castle had been recovered.

Henry Percy then proceeded to Caernarvon, to hold his sessions as Justice of North Wales, everywhere proclaiming the King's pardon through the intercession of the Prince of Wales, and putting a judicious interpretation upon the "ordinances" lately issued, in order to [2]avoid irritation to those who had not been openly and actually disloyal. By this means he was able to report, on May 3rd, that the Commons of Merioneth and Caernarvon (the two most disaffected counties in Wales) had come before him, thanking the King for his gracious pardon, and the Prince for his intervention, and promising to pay such dues as they had before paid in the lifetime of King Richard. He added that if the castle of Conway were once reduced, the country might be easily governed in time to come.

Meantime, the very event thus longed for was about to accomplish itself. In spite of the abundance of provisions, and the hope of relief from without, dissensions had already broken out in Conway Castle, and William ap Tudor very soon deemed it wisest to open negociations for a surrender. As early as [3]April 13th, Henry Percy received an intimation that the rebels were willing to treat, and within [4]a week afterwards (April 20th) he was able to formulate conditions. He was authorized to offer a free pardon to William and Rees ap Tudor, for all offences committed since the Parliament had met, to guarantee them from any prosecution by the townspeople of Conway for the next six months, and after that date to secure for them a trial before a jury, one half of which should be Welshmen.

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 4, July 2nd, 1401. [2] "Eyant consideration à ceux q'ont este de bone porte au Roy."—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 149. [3] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 30. [4] *Ibid*, m. 24.

But the terms could not be decided upon. It was ultimately arranged that, if nine of the most obstinate rebels were given up, the lives of the others should be spared. Accordingly, the nine were treacherously seized by their comrades while sleeping. They were bound and given up to the English, to be immediately put to death with the usual brutalities. This done, the negociations were allowed to proceed, and William ap Tudor stipulated for himself, for his brother, and for his friends, that their lives should be spared, their forfeited lands restored, that they should be conducted safely to their homes, and protected against all future claims from the townspeople of Conway for damage done to the town during the time that the castle held out. To these favourable conditions Percy wisely agreed, and the castle was surrendered on May 28th, at the very moment when it was of most vital importance to the English to recover it.

It is evident that these terms were at first considered by all to be far too [1]favourable to the rebels, but the timely recovery of the castle more than covered the seeming humiliation. After a little show of delay the agreement was ratified by the Council, which met on [2]July 5th, and the [3]stipulated pardon was granted by the King.

At the very time when Conway was returning so cheaply into his hands, the King, who was then at Wallingford, heard news that Owen had assembled a band of Welsh on the borders of Caermarthen; that he had sent out a letter, or proclamation, vowing to exterminate the English tongue, and to sweep away all who owned allegiance and loyalty to the English in South Wales. At once, [4]with all promptness, the King issued letters to the Sheriffs of 14 border and midland counties, to meet him

[1]See the King's letter, in ROY. LET., i, 71. "Pas honurables a nous,—chose de tres mal ensample." [2]ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 145. Cf. RYM., viii, 209, July 8th, 1401. [3]Dated July 8th, 1401, in PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 13. [4]See his letter (dated May 26th) from Wallingford, in ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 54; the formal summons is dated May 28th, in CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 18.

with all possible speed at Worcester, with all their available force, and on the next day he himself set out in person. On his way he [1]visited the districts in the neighbourhood of Bristol, and used his influence in person to counteract the spirit of disaffection. Every day brought graver news from Wales, and in the [2]prevailing panic the rising was magnified into an organized invasion by the Welsh. The King spent three days at Evesham, where he was joined by a host of Earls, Barons, and Knights, and thence he proceeded to Worcester, where he arrived on Sunday, June 5th, and there learned the true state of affairs. Conway had been recovered; the force under Owen had not entered England; the leaders were believed to be insignificant men; some had been captured and punished, and the prevailing opinion was that there was force enough available to deal with all emergencies that might arise, without the personal presence of the King. Henry, therefore, made arrangements that vessels should be despatched to guard the coasts in places where they seemed to be exposed to danger; he strengthened the garrisons in the castles on the Border, and [3]after a stay of nine days he returned, by Alcester and Wallingford, to London, to attend to matters which at the time seemed more pressing, in reference to Scotland, Ireland, and France.

[1] Unless this visit is to be placed a few months afterwards on his return from the West. On July 20th, he was at Selbourne, in Hants (ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 155); on July 21st, at Sutton (RYM., viii, 213); perhaps returning from the cloth districts. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 134. [3] EVES., 197.

CHAPTER XIII.

IRELAND.

AND now a fresh chapter of difficulties was opened for Henry. On [1]June 30th, 1401, a deputation from Ireland, headed by the Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh, presented themselves before the Council, in London, charged by the English residents in Ireland to lay before the King the real state of that country, and to press at once for remedies. They were deputed by [2]a "Parliament" lately held, and claimed to speak on behalf of the Prelates, Clergy, Lords, Magnates, and Commons of Ireland, and their presence in London must give us a moment's pause, to glance back upon the actual condition of Ireland, and the prospects of the English rule there.

Two [3]Frenchmen, of whom one had visited Ireland two years before, and the other had information direct from eye witnesses, have left a curious narrative of the condition of the island, thus:

There are in the island two races, speaking two languages. The one speak a bastard English, and live in good towns, cities, castles, and fortresses, in the country or at the seaports. The other are a kind of wild people, who speak a strange language (called [4]"crichemons"). These have no town, house, castle, or fixed dwelling. They are always in the woods, or on the mountains. They have many Kings, but even the most powerful of these go barefoot and without breeches, and ride horses without saddles. In the city of Waterford, where

[1] USK, 63. [2] RYM., viii, 208. [3] TRAIS., pp. 28-32; CRET., in ARCH., vol. xx. [4] Cf. "Creaghts," the Ulster name for Celts.—MACAULAY, v, 307.

English trade had its centre, the people were [1]low and filthy, some in rags, some with only a [2]rope round their waists, living in holes or hedges. A little way from the coast (in the present counties of Kilkenny and Carlow) the country had no roads, but was covered with forest and bog, so deep in places that you might sink [3]up to the waist, or be lost altogether. Here the wild people lived, and none could follow them. They bartered solely in cattle, which formed their medium of exchange, and coin seldom found its way among them. These were the Irish or Celtic savages, among whom the English were but a small knot of armed settlers.

But the English settlers were never in agreement among themselves. Far removed from the centre of government, they were in constant rebellion against the King's authority, as represented by his Council in Dublin. Many of them had intermarried with the Celtic families among whom they lived, and often made use of their hostility to help them in resisting the claims of the Home government, whenever those claims pressed inconveniently on their own independence.

Ireland was at that time governed by a Lieutenant, or Deputy, representing the King, assisted by a Council, in which were comprised a Chancellor, a Constable, a Keeper of the Great Seal, a Treasurer, and other officers, appointed by the King on the model of the English Council. In this hierarchy the lawyers were fully represented, and the [4]Rolls solemnly record the life appointments of a Chief Justice of Common Pleas, a Chief Chamberlain, Chief and Second Baron of the Exchequer, Engrossers, Keepers of Chancery Rolls, and Clerks of the

1 "Gens vilaine et orde."—CRET., 297. "L'un ot un *trou* l'autre avoit une *borde* pour demourer." I do not feel sure as to the meaning of "*borde*." 2 Cf. MACAULAY, vi, 75. "Sometimes wrapped in twisted straw, which served the purpose of armour," quoting STORY's Impartial Hist. and Continuation. 3 "Il y fault enfendrer jusques aux rains ou tout dedens entrer."—CRET., 301. 4 PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 11, October 20th, 1399.

Hanaper, all of them, of course, bearing English names. The Council met at various places within the range of the English influence, as at Dublin, Trim, Naas, Drogheda, Castledermot, or Kilkenny. They took cognizance of all matters having to do with the government and administration of so much of the country as recognized the English King's authority, arranging taxation, and redressing complaints or grievances. From time to time there met, in various places, what are termed [1]Great Councils, or Parliaments, to which were summoned the Mayors and Provosts of cities and towns, and the Bishops and heads of the monastic houses. These Great Councils granted money and fulfilled generally (though over a smaller area) all the functions discharged by the Parliament in England.

Thus there was in Ireland an English colony, maintaining itself beyond the narrow seas, amidst a hostile and savage population, with all the external forms of government imported from home; only that the influence of this showy machinery did not really extend beyond a narrow strip of country on the South and East coasts. The native Irish of the North, the West, and the centre, neither acknowledged its authority nor claimed its protection.

In 1394, an effort was made to conciliate the Irish, and in consideration of a promise of an annual allowance in money, four of their chieftains had come to Dublin, where they made a nominal submission, and were knighted by the English King. But the promises were soon broken, and the submission forgotten; and O'Briens, O'Tooles, Mac Moroughs, and O'Neils, were in constant warfare against the English. In 1398, the King's Lieutenant, the Earl of March, was killed by the O'Briens, in county Carlow. In 1399, King Richard in person led a large army against Mac Morough, through the bogs of

[1] GRAVES, King's Council in Ireland, p. lv.

Kilkenny and Wexford, but he wholly failed of his mark, and on his departure Mac Morough renewed his attack, demanding the restitution of his Barony of [1]Norragh, and the payment of his promised annuity of 80 marks per annum, with arrears. To these demands the Council were compelled to accede, though a few months before they had set a price of [2]100 marks on Mac Morough's head. Nevertheless, the Irish were not pacified. Mac Morough went westward to Munster, to help the Earl of Desmond in his feud against the Earl of Ormond, threatening soon to return, with increased force, and destroy the English.

At this same time (viz.: the autumn of 1399), O'Neil, a chief in Ulster, had assembled "a host of people without number," and threatened an attack from the North. In presence of this danger, the Treasury was empty; the pay of the few troops was in arrears; the law was powerless, and many of the English families (the Butlers, Powers, Gerardynes, Bermynghames, Daltons, Barretts, Dillons, and others "calling themselves gentlemen of blood and idlemen, but being only sturdy robbers") openly refused obedience, and joined with the Irish to attack the loyal English. No revenue could be raised; no officer dared put the law in execution. Indeed, the King's authority extended no farther than the county of Dublin and part of the county of Kildare. Outside of these limits, the counties of Meath, [3]Uriel, [4]Ulster, Wexford, Cork, and Tipperary, owned only a nominal submission, and claimed exemption from taxes and dues; while in Carlow, Kilkenny, Waterford, Kerry, Limerick, Connaught, and Roscommon, there was no profession of obedience, but all was rebellion and open war. The whole yield of the Customs amounted to only £160 per annum, of which the half

[1] (?) Narraghmore, county Kildare. See the despatch, in GRAVES, p. 261; also CRET., 243. [2] TRAIS., 177. [3] *i.e.*, the neighbourhood of Drogheda, with part of the present county Louth. [4] The late Earl of March had been styled Earl of Ulster and Lord of Clare, Trim, and Connaught.—PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 7

was taken to pay the salary of the Chief Customer, who did not even live in the country. Debts, inheritances, and lands, were not accounted for to the King, the escheators in the several counties retaining them in their own hands, while the subordinate offices in the Chancery and the Exchequer were held by persons who were quite incompetent for the duties they undertook.

Such was the state of Ireland in the first months of Henry's reign, as [1]certified by the Council of Ireland, under [2]Alexander de Balscot, Bishop of Meath, who was for a short time Guardian, or Chief Governor, of the country. Balscot died in [3]November, 1399, and for a short while the chief administration in Ireland was vested in the new [4]Chancellor, Thomas Cranley, Archbishop of Dublin.

The change of dynasty in England was not calculated to heal the existing divisions among the English in Ireland. Henry soon turned his attention to that quarter. On December 10th, 1399, Sir John Stanley was appointed the King's Lieutenant for three years, endowed with the manor of [5]Dungarvan, and with power to pardon rebels, and to appoint or remove all [6]officers , except the Chancellor, Treasurer, the Chief Justice, and others who held their offices direct from the King. He was bound, however, to act by advice of his Council, and to administer the government "in accordance with the laws and customs" of Ireland. [7]On the 13th of December, Com-

[1]See two documents in GRAVES, 261, 314, which seem from internal evidence to be very nearly contemporary in date, though Mr. Graves separates them by 50 years, placing one in 1399, and the other in 1345. [2]PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 11 (dated November 18th, 1399), records his appointment as Chancellor of Ireland, with 10s. per day for maintenance, besides customary fees, all to be paid by Ireland. [3]GILBERT, Viceroys, 292, quoted in GRAVES, 261; but see RYM., viii, 175, where the King grants temporalities of vacant see of Meath (dated December 24th, 1400). [4]ROY. LET., i, 76. [5]PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 35, dated December 15th, 1399. [6]CAMDEN, BRIT., 832; PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 2, where "Lieutenant" (locm. nrm. tenens) has been substituted for "Justiciary." [7]PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 8.

missioners were appointed to provide shipping from the ports of Chester and Liverpool, and the new Lieutenant crossed to assume his duties in Dublin, commissioned expressly to report as to the [1]extent of the possessions of the late King Richard in Ireland, and to take the [2]homage of all tenants and others who owed it to King Henry. On [3]December 15th, 1399, the King issued instructions requiring Richard's name to be erased, and his own name inserted, in all seals and official documents. Two days later [4](December 17th), an order was sent across that a statute made in the early part of the late reign (3 R. II., 1379) should henceforward be strictly enforced, whereby all who held lands or offices in Ireland should be required to reside on the spot, or forfeit two-thirds of the value for the defence of the country. That this Statute against Absentees had not been altogether a dead letter, may be seen by reference to the proceedings of the King's Council in Ireland. In [5]1393, Sir Philip Darcy petitioned for a slight remission of it in favour of his tenants, in county Meath and Dublin. Petitions also appear, praying a remission of the fine for absence in the case of the [6]Bishop of Ossory and the Prebendary of Athour. Several persons, however, had [7]contracted themselves out of the obligations imposed by the statute, and held letters patent from the King, exempting them specially from its provisions. Such an order as that now issued by Henry was of little use without an overwhelming force to ensure its execution, and the King himself was soon shown to be a chief offender, for within a year he granted the temporalities of the vacant see of Meath to his own confessor, [8]Robert Mascal, with express permission to reside in England. [9]Peter Holt, Prior of the Hospital of

[1] December 21st, 1399.—PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 27. [2] *Ibid*, 7, 25, May 28th, 1400. [3] RYM., viii, 114; CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 36. [4] RYM., viii, 116; CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 30. [5] GRAVES, 165. [6] *Ibid*, 15, 144. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 182. [8] RYM., viii, 175, dated December 24th, 1400. [9] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 33, November 1st, 1400.

St. John of Jerusalem, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, who claimed lands in Ireland, and [1]John Preve, Dean of St. Patrick's, in Dublin, were allowed similar favours.

The first year of Sir John Stanley's Lieutenancy proved anything but a success, and such notices as we have of Irish affairs are nothing but a record of continued disasters. Between the date of the King's accession and the arrival of the new Lieutenant the Archbishop of Dublin had acted as Chancellor and head of the government in Ireland. For these three months he had been promised a payment of 40 marks, from the revenues of the city of Dublin, but the citizens refused to pay him, even though the King had lately remitted half their annual dues. Henry could do nothing but upbraid the refractory citizens, and [2]scold them for their ingratitude in refusing to pay so fair a claim. But it all came to nothing, and the Archbishop had to depend upon the English Exchequer for [3]10s. per day, to keep up his dignity.

No serious effort was made to consolidate the English power in the country. Now and again we come upon a stray reference to Irish affairs at this period. Some wealthy [4]London citizen may have permission to trade with Ireland for a term of years, for which privilege, with all the possibilities of extortion attaching to it, we may be sure that handsome sums were paid to the King. On the death of the Earl of Huntingdon, his confiscated estates in county [5]Wexford were granted to Lord Grey of Ruthyn; but, as soon as he attempted to make good his claim, his servants were driven off and imprisoned by James Butler, Earl of Ormond, who, nevertheless, [6]pretended still to be loyal to the English crown. In the spring of 1400, a number of Irish hostages, who had been kept in the castle of

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 1, March 9th, 1401. [2] *Ibid*, 3, 3, April 29th, 1401. *Ibid*, 2, 14, July 8th, 1401. [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 1, 9, October 23rd, 1399. CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 2, 17, May 21st, 1400. [6] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 5, January 3th, 1401; PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 32, October 11th, 1401.

[1]Trim, broke out and escaped from their prison. In the city of [2]Galway, a strong feeling existed against the English rule. A party of disaffected persons handed over the city to one Sir William Burgh, while a number of galleys were kept in reserve in the Islands of Arran, ready to pounce upon and plunder any English who might attempt to approach the place by sea. One of the loyal English, however, named Nicholas Kent, a burgess of Galway, made his way across to Bristol, and secured the interest of four adventurers, named John Rederice, William Pound, Edward White, and Philip Tailor, who, in their turn, obtained permission from the English King to try and recover Galway in his name, on the understanding that they should recoup themselves at the expense of the town if successful. In [3]Limerick, the bridges were reported to be tottering and ruinous, and the people were to be allowed 20 marks out of their own Customs revenue, to help to put them in repair. An allowance was to be made to the burgesses of [4]Ross, to enable them to rebuild their town, which had been burnt by the Irish; while the gates and walls of Waterford were to be repaired. In [5]Cork, the fees were four years in arrear, and amounted to £229, while gates and bridges had fallen into ruin, owing to the constant attacks both of the Irish and the "rebel English." In [6]Dublin, the annual fee of £100 had been unpaid for the last two years, and half of it had to be remitted.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that at the close of his first year of office [7](December 14th, 1400) the new Lieutenant (Sir John Stanley) reported that a "great part of the payments due to him are in arrears, and that he has not been able to do so much good for resisting our rebel Irish as he could wish." But the King could only feebly urge the Chan-

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 26, May 24th, 1400. [2] *Ibid*, 7, 28, May 22nd, 1400. [3] *Ibid*, 8, 39, July 28th, 1400. [4] *Ibid*, 6, 18, March 19th, 1400; CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 6, 7. [5] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 8, December 10th, 1400. [6] *Ibid*, m. 33, November 6th. [7] *Ibid*, 1, 8.

cellor and Treasurer of Ireland to tell his loyal lieges to pay their dues and be obedient; otherwise their names would be given in, "and then we can thereupon ordain what shall seem best to be of reason."

As early as the beginning of 1401, the alarming fact became known that the King's Lieutenant was bankrupt, and could not pay his debts. On the [1]14th of February, he received "letters of protection" from the King, guaranteeing him against molestation. But his position had, of course, become untenable. At the time of his appointment it had been stipulated that he should retain the office for three years, unless the King, or one of his sons, or a nobleman of royal blood should be appointed, in which case he would receive three months notice previous to his recal. On the [2]18th of May, 1401, he received the stipulated notice, and was informed that he must vacate his post in favour of the King's second son, Thomas, whose appointment was backed by the recommendation of the Council in London. Other changes, of course, rapidly followed.

On the [3]3rd of April, Janico Dartas, or Jean D'Artois, was appointed Constable of Dublin Castle, for life in place of William Rye. The new Constable was to have the custody of [4]Trim Castle, until the young Earl of March was of age. He was to take over for his own use a [5]stock of arrows which had belonged to the traitor Earl of Kent. But he was altogether unable to keep the defences in a decent state of repair, and the [6]castle was allowed to go to ruin from want of the necessary funds to maintain it in efficiency. He was likewise authorized to exercise control over all [7]shipping in Irish waters, as deputy for [8]Thomas Rempston, who had just succeeded the Earl of Worcester, as Admiral of the Fleet from the mouth of the

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 4, 16, and 2, 34. [2] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 18. [3] PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 14. [4] *Ibid*, 3, 26. [5] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 20, April 26th, 1401. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 182. [7] PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 16, May 18th, 1401. [8] *Ibid*, m. 24, April 20th, 1401.

Thames westward. Jean D'Artois crossed to Dublin on the [1]26th of June, 1401, and on the next day [2]"Thomas of Lancaster, Seneschal of England," was formally nominated Viceroy, or Lieutenant, to represent his father in Ireland. On the 2nd of July, [3]Robert Crull was temporarily appointed Treasurer of the Irish Exchequer, with the Archbishop of Dublin, [4]Thomas Cranley, as Chancellor. Sir Stephen Scrope crossed on the 7th of July, to have everything in readiness for the arrival of the young Viceroy.

In the midst of this general confusion a Parliament, or Great Council, met in Ireland, and drew up a petition to the King. The Archbishops of Dublin and Armagh were commissioned to present it, and, to cover their expenses, a sum of 40 marks was to be paid to each of them from the Clergy and Commons of [5]Dublin, Meath, and Uriel. The two Archbishops crossed to England, and appeared in person before the King and the Council, at Westminster, on the [6]30th of June, 1401. The petition set forth that the King's authority in his recognized courts was of no avail in Ireland, by reason of the number of private roving Commissions claiming privileges of exemption from the jurisdiction of the regular courts. These acted openly in defiance of all constituted authority, and, having might on their side, they were able to maintain themselves at the expense of the few settlers who remained loyal to the English crown. Lands and property were seized under their orders, and the owners imprisoned without trial. Needy soldiers, nominally called to defend the country from the Irish, seized horses and provisions without payment. Gangs of kernes and idlers roamed the country, on horseback and on foot, demanding money and food, pouncing down and carrying off the settlers if refused.

[1]PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 8. [2]*Ibid*, m. 5, dated June 27th, 1401. [3]*Ibid*, 2, 14. [4]*Ibid*, 3, 1, July 4th, 1401. [5]CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 8. [6]Adam of Usk (p. 63) was present at the time.

In [1]Louth, an experiment had been tried of settling some semi-loyal natives on the land under their chief, Aghy Mac Mahan. But oil and water will not mix, and the customs and claims of the Irish were an abomination and a danger to the English. The King's purveyors paid nothing for the goods taken for the use of the royal officers, and in districts beyond the English pale the extortions of the Geraldines, the Bourkes, and the Powers, had driven all loyal subjects into rebellion.

The petitioners, who are chiefly ecclesiastics, do not indicate the precise methods of redress, but they hint that the presence of the King in person in Ireland might do much to set matters in better train for the future. It is clear that English authority in Ireland was melting away. Every man did what was right in his own eyes. The [2]royal castles were in ruins and tumbling to decay. Those colonists who were strong enough to defy the law, not only did so with impunity, but oppressed and exacted from friend and foe impartially; while those only remained loyal to the English rule, who, holding offices of profit, or owning lands near Dublin, and being too weak to defend themselves, found their account in appealing helplessly to the distant arm of England.

But nothing could be done without money. With Wales in active rebellion, Ireland in anarchy, Scotland, under the influence of Lord Douglas, clamorous for war, and France free once more to hatch hatred and intrigue, the will and the energy were present with Henry to strike boldly at his foes; but money there was none, and his subjects could not bear the strain of further taxation. Accordingly, in this emergency, it was resolved to call together a Great Council, to meet at Westminster on August 15th, 1401. To this [3]Council there were

[1] See the petition, in ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 43, 52. It is without date, but seems to fit in most reasonably here. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 182. [3] See list of names, in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 155-164; and cf. RYM., viii, 213.

summoned 19 Bishops, 6 Abbots, 45 great Lords and Barons, and nearly 250 Knights, Esquires, and gentlemen, from the different counties of England. In the number and importance of the members composing it, this Great Council differed in no way from a Parliament. In two essential points, however, it did differ: (1st) That the cities and boroughs, as such, did not send representatives. (2nd) That the name of every person summoned had been specified individually in the writs, so that there was no pretence of election at all. It is probable that the sole purpose of its meeting was to raise money as an *advance* for immediate needs, very much as had been done under similar circumstances, but on a smaller scale, in February of the preceding year.

The Great Council met on August 15th, but we have only very scanty hints as to its proceedings. War was considered inevitable with [1]France and Scotland. A new plan was devised for regulating the income and outgoings of the Exchequer, which it was hoped would result in great economy, to the profit of the King, and on the suggestion of the [2]Chancellor and the Keeper of the Privy Seal, the King was advised to realise a sum for immediate use by the sale of such wardships, marriages, reversions, and other feudal dues, as might escheat to him, by death or otherwise, in the immediate future. We may presume, therefore, that the required sums of money were forthcoming, and the necessities of the moment tided over or decently provided for.

For Ireland, it was announced that the King's second son, Thomas, had been made Lieutenant of the country, [3]with "all the revenues of the land of Ireland" granted to him, with power

[1] USK, 67. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 183. It is better to refer this to September, 1401, rather than May, 1402 (as Sir H. NICHOLAS), as Prince Thomas had not yet left for Ireland. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 484; PAT., 2 H. IV., 4, 15, June 27th, 1401.

to remove inefficient officers, and to transfer the Courts for the administration of justice wherever he should see fit.

Already a considerable force of men-at-arms and archers had been collected, to cross with Sir Stephen Scrope, and on the [1]10th of August, ten ships had been ordered to be in readiness at Liverpool and Chester, to convey them over to Ireland.

Sir Thomas Erpingham and Sir Hugh Waterton (a [2]cousin of Sir Robert, at Pontefract), [3]with eight others, were now appointed to take care of the boy Lieutenant, and early in November he crossed [4]"with a large army," to try to allay the wild waters of Irish confusion by the magic of a royal name. In the same month, news of some kind had come from Ireland, together with information of an agreement made between Sir Stephen Scrope and Maurice O'Connor, but the Council were in some perplexity as to the desirability of publishing it. Letters patent, which had granted exemptions from the Statute against Absentees, were to be revoked, and [5]castles and fortresses which were falling into decay were to be repaired and maintained, at the expense of those who drew a profit from the lands adjacent.

The young Prince arrived in Dublin on the [6]13th November (St. Brice), and formally took over the government from Sir Stephen Scrope. He was to receive [7]12,000 marks per annum for the duties of his office, of which the English Exchequer had supplied 500 as a first instalment. At Christmas he assembled the Knights, Esquires, and gentlemen of the country, and feasted them as best he might. Immediately afterwards his Council met. They consisted of the Archbishop of Dublin, as Chancellor, Lawrence Merbury, the Treasurer, and others,

[1] PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 5. [2] STONEHOUSE, Isle of Axholme, p. 445. [3] See their appointments (dated October 1st, 1401), in RYM., viii, 227. [4] "Cum magno exercitu."—USK, 68. [5] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 182. [6] CAMD., 832. [7] PELLS ISSUE, MICH., 3 H. IV., December 9th, 1401.

including Sir [1]Stephen Scrope, who conducted the military operations, and the Gascon, [2]Jean d'Artois. The ex-Lieutenant, [3]Sir John Stanley, remained in Ireland, a subordinate attached to the suite of his successor.

The Council advised that some steps should be taken to reassert the English authority. The Prince, accordingly, started for a journey through the country on the East Coast, "doing the best that he could to harry them;" but after a few weeks the only progress that he could report was that he had got back in safety to Drogheda. But "all the revenues of the land of Ireland" could not [4]keep together his soldiers for a few months. They clamoured for their pay, and threatened to depart. On [5]February 18th, 1402, the Prince sent urgent messages to England, pressing for payment for his men. The letter was carried by Sir Stephen Scrope, who was well acquainted with the real state of affairs. The Council in Ireland subsequently sent further urgent demands. The Prince's jewels and plate were sold; his soldiers deserted him, and on [6]August 20th, 1402, the Archbishop of Dublin wrote that the Prince had "not a penny in the world," that the very members of his household were on the point of abandoning him; that the Prince and his Council were shut up at Naas, "with twenty or a dozen persons," and that they dared not leave his side, lest harm should come to him. Seeing the hopelessness of raising funds in Ireland, the Council in London forwarded [7]£6,516 13s. 4d. to Dublin in the winter of 1402, with a further [8]£1,000 in the early part of the following year. But both sums were

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 10, confirms to him 100 marks per annum from revenues of Ireland (November 8th, 1399). [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 182. [3] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 15 (dated February 6th), "in comitiva fil. Thomæ." [4] ROT. PARL., iii, 537. [5] ROY. LET., i, 73. [6] *Ibid*, i, 67, which should be dated 1402, not 1401. It is signed by Sir Lawrence Merbury, as Treasurer of Irish Exchequer, whose appointment dates from October 10th, 1401 (PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 34). [7] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 4 H. IV., MICH., December 9th, 1402. [8] *Ibid*, PASCH., June 12th, 1403.

taken from the subsidy levied on the English people, and the Customs collected in English ports.

During all this time, if we read the native [1]annals, we might think there was no English authority in the country at all. The chiefs hunt, slay, raid, murder, and build churches. We have a terrible war between the Earl of Urmumha (Ormond) and the Earl of Desmumha (Desmond), but "the foreigners" are seldom mentioned in the narrative at all. The government of Ireland, by the appointed representative of the English King, was almost, if not altogether, extinguished. Nevertheless, Prince Thomas still retained his office for a few months longer.

On the [2]1st of June, 1403, the Treasurer of Ireland, William Alyngton, wrote that payments were still in arrears to the extent of £9,156 14s. 8½d., and that both Ireland and the boy Lieutenant were in great and increasing danger. On the 10th of June, it was decided that the money required for governing Ireland must be taken from the Customs of the port of Hull, as there was no prospect of getting anything from Ireland itself.

At length, on the [3]1st of September, 1403, it was decided that the Prince might return home, leaving the dignities and anxieties of his office to be borne by a deputy. In [4]November, 1403, he was back in England; but as late as [5]March, 1404, he was still nominally the King's Lieutenant in Ireland, [6]500 marks (£333 6s. 8d.) being assigned to him to meet his engagements there. In [7]November, 1404, he was, with his brother Henry, present at the operations against the Welsh in Glamorganshire. On the [8]5th of July, 1404, Janico Dartas was appointed Admiral of Ireland during the King's pleasure.

[1] Loch Cé, ii, 93; Four Masters, iii, 771. [2] Pat., 4 H. IV., 2, 3, 5, July 14th, 1403. [3] *Ibid*, 1, 6. [4] Black Book of Admiralty, i, 387, quoting Marleburgh Ancient Irish Histories. [5] Rot. Parl., iii, 537. [6] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 268. [7] Tyler, i, 197. [8] Pat., 5 H. IV., 2, 10.

For Scotland, it was decided that every effort should be made to secure the opportunity for making a lasting peace. But already the opportunity was passing away. The Duke of Rothsay had been disgraced and imprisoned, and the war party, headed by the Earl of Douglas, was in full power. On the English side, [1]Commissioners of high rank were appointed to treat with the Scots. Among the Commissioners were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with Henry Percy, as Warden of Berwick, and the Bishops of Bangor and Carlisle. They were supplied with complete [2]instructions how to act, according as they should find a willing spirit or the reverse among the Scots. If the Scottish King would admit the claim put forward by Henry to the overlordship, doing homage for his crown, and accepting summons and attendance at the English Parliament, a final peace might be arranged between the two countries. If he still disputed the claim, it might be held in abeyance for a term of years, to be submitted to the decision of certain "sage and discreet persons" on both sides; and, in the meantime, a general truce might be made between the two countries, the Scottish King undertaking to supply 500 men, when required. In return, he was to receive an annuity, in money or lands in England, and the wages of the men-at-arms were to be paid by the English King, nothing being said in the meantime of homage or attendance at Parliament. If, ultimately, the decision on these two matters were given against England, the rest of the arrangement might still be retained—the Scottish King agreeing to supply the 500 men, and receiving in exchange an annuity of £1,000 or 1,000 marks, at the conclusion of a final peace; in which it might be arranged that the disputed district of [3]Teviotdale should pass

[1] ROT. SCOT., ii, 159, dated September 1st, 1401. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 168-173. [3] Antequam Thevidalia venit ad pacem Regis, *i.e.*, Scottici.—SCOTICHRON., ii, 434; BOWER, xv, 14.

into the hands of the English, if the inhabitants were willing to transfer their allegiance from the Scottish King, thus rectifying the Border to the line of the Tweed. If, however, there should appear no prospect of such permanent peace, a truce might be made, in general or special terms, to last for any period up to thirty years, in which case the castles of Berwick, Roxborough, and Jedborough, would remain in English hands, and suitable arrangements would be made for securing the communications with them, and reserving a certain limited area in the neighbourhood of each. Efforts were to be made on behalf of the Earl of March, with a view to securing for him a pardon for his disloyalty, and the recovery of his lands about Dunbar. And with a view to strengthen the friendly feelings between the two countries, proposals were to be opened for [1]intermarriage between the young princes and princesses of the respective royal houses, a card which Henry never failed to play, if such alliance promised to strengthen his position with his neighbours. If none of these eligible alternatives should prosper, the Commissioners were authorized to negociate a short truce, to last for one year from the ensuing St. Martin's Day (November 11th), provided that the Earl of March were included as an ally of England, and the three castles, with their surrounding liberties, were guaranteed unmolested to the English. Mention was to be made also (though not in the way of menace) of the remaining portion of the ransom of the late King David, which was still unpaid by the Scots, and all other matters in dispute were to be referred to the Parliaments of the two countries, in the hope that time would develope a more friendly consideration of them at a more suitable opportunity.

On [2]Monday, October 17th, 1401, the Commissioners met

[1] "Des seigneurs et dames dambideux."—ORD. PRIV. CO,, i, 171. [2] See letters between Douglas and Henry, dated February, 1402 (not 1401), in ROY. LET., i, 52, 58.

at Yetham, in Roxboroughshire. The Earls of Northumberland and Douglas were both present, as the heads of their respective delegations, but it was soon evident that no progress would be made. In the present temper of the Scots there was no probability whatever, either of a lasting peace or a lengthened truce. The Earl of Douglas claimed that, according to the terms of the Earl of Northumberland's letter of June 24th, there should be a truce simply between the two countries, to last for one year from the next St. Martin's Day. The English Commissioners then urged the claims of the Earl of March, and pressed for a guarantee of the limits of the English jurisdiction in the neighbourhood of the Border castles, but the Earl of Douglas flatly refused to entertain the question. The English representatives then proposed that the truce, or suspension of hostilities, should last simply up to Christmas, that they might have time to return to London to receive further instructions from the Council, but this request also was refused. The Commissioners parted, the Scots claiming, seemingly, that the truce would be binding on the English after the next St. Martin's Day, and the English returning to their country to wait for the next move on the part of their opponents.

No sooner had they departed than the Earl of Douglas rode in person, "with banner and pennon displayed," to Bamborough, and burnt the town and the surrounding country. Hereupon there followed reprisals, and a state of [1]open war. On the English side, much apprehension was felt for the safety of Roxborough Castle, the responsibility for which rested with Sir [2]Stephen Scrope, who was at the time with Prince Thomas, in Ireland. But an order was issued by the [3]Council, in November, to see that this weakness was made good. An [4]advance of

[1] USK, 68. Scoti decreverant diffidenciam et guerram Anglicis in festo sancti Martini fore inducendas. [2] ROY. LET., i, 87. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 178. [4] ROY. LET., i, 91.

£560 was secured from the collectors of Customs at the port of Southampton, and the [1]custody of the castle was transferred to the Earl of Westmoreland.

On February 1st, 1402, the Earl of Douglas, who now appears as the leading personage on the Scottish side, sent a formal complaint to Henry, charging the Earl of Northumberland with having been the cause of this new outbreak of war, and offering to prove his statement if Henry would send Commissioners of high rank to meet other Scotch Commissioners on the Border. The English King consulted with the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who were then in London, together with others of the negociators of the previous year, and returned a general denial of the charges made by Douglas. He [2]offered, however, to send a Commission (though not of the highest nobles) to meet a Scotch Commission, if desired, at Kelso, by April 10th, 1402. This proposal was, seemingly, not accepted, and all hopes of a compromise were at an end. Arrangements were made for [3]supplying Berwick with stores, in anticipation of the coming attack, and on [4]March 1st an appeal was made for a loan to repel the Scots, "who have lately made war upon us and our kingdom." The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, together with Henry Percy, were authorized in the most general terms to treat with the Scottish King, when the time should come, and in the meantime to [5]promise English protection and the royal favour to any Scottish nobles who should show any inclination to follow the example already set by the Earl of March, two years before.

For France, Commissioners were appointed [6](September 18th) as arranged, to meet and provide remedies for outstanding grievances, by the ensuing St. Martin's Day (November 11th, 1401). Eleven Commissioners, headed by the Earl of Rutland

[1] Rot. Scot., ii, 161. [2] Roy. Let., i, 64. [3] Rot. Scot., ii, 161. [4] Rym., viii, 245. [5] *Ibid*, viii, 251. [6] *Ibid*, viii, 224.

as Lieutenant of Aquitaine, were appointed to meet a similar number from the French side at Bayonne, for the South; while a separate [1]Commission of ten, headed by the Earl of Somerset as Captain of Calais, and the Bishop of Rochester, were to negociate in reference to claims for damage committed in the North. The Commissioners in the North were to give special prominence to the dormant question of the payment of the ransom still due on account of the release of the French King John.

At Martinmas (November 11th) the Commissioners met, and agreed to a [2]postponement till St. Andrew's Day (November 30th, 1401), with a prospect, if affairs proceeded smoothly, of a further adjournment till the 3rd of April, 1402, or some early day. At Bayonne, also, negociations proceeded, but the news was not altogether encouraging, and arrangements were made in England for summoning another Great Council, to meet fifteen days after St. Hilary (*i.e.*, January 29th, 1402), when it would be decided whether or not to summon a Parliament. [3]Frequent communications continued to pass between France and England, and, by a subsequent announcement, [4]July 14th, 1402, was fixed as the latest day for depositing claims for consideration on both sides. In [5]September, 1402, an arrangement was agreed to at Lenlyngham, according to which there was to be virtually a truce, to last till May 1st, 1403. [6]All damage done in the interval was to be enquired into, and restitution made. It was arranged that all plunder was to be restored, and all prisoners given up. Letters of marque were to be called in. Notice was given at Havre, and all the principal ports of both kingdoms, that no [7]pirates were henceforth to be

[1] RYM., viii, 229; ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 176. October 18th and November 1st. [2] RYM., viii, 231. [3] THRES. DES CHARTRES, *Passim*. August, 1401, August, 1402. [4] RYM., viii, 264. [5] *Ibid*, viii, 280 (dated October 18th, 1402), "ultimo factum"; TILLET (313) dates it August 24th. [6] RYM., viii, 300. [7] TILLET, 313.

harboured or supported, under pain of confiscation or other heavy penalties.

One of the principal piratical offenders against English trade was a Norman noble, Jean, Lord of Bethencourt, the conqueror of the Canary Islands. His [1]brother was in the service of the Count de Nevers, son of the Duke of Burgundy, and he was himself a Chamberlain of the Court of Charles VI. The English demanded his surrender, but the French King answered [2]that he did not know what had become of him. When last heard of, he had said that he was going to conquer the "Islands of Hell," *i.e.*, the volcanic group round Teneriffe, with its "cone of cinders." From the graphic narrative of his voyage to the Canaries written by his chaplain, who accompanied him, we now know that he had started from [3]Rochelle on May 1st, 1402; that he was arrested at Cadiz as a robber, on the complaint of some English merchants, but was subsequently allowed to proceed on his way; that he was absent from Europe for four years, having in the meantime colonized Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, the most easterly of the Canary Islands. News of his famous exploit soon reached England, and a short but interesting account of the islands and their barbarous inhabitants is entered in a [4]contemporary chronicle, by an English monk, with remarkable accuracy, considering that the narrative of the chaplain had not yet been written. One part of the description is of especial interest to archæologists, as the islanders were cave-men, quite unacquainted with the use of metals, though far advanced in the manufacture and use of implements of stone. The islands contained a large population of black people, who went naked in summer, but wore skins in the winter. They had no houses or buildings of any kind, but lived in caves in the woods. They had great

[1] BETHENCOURT, 212. [2] THRES. DES CHARTRES., pp. 70-71; REPT. ON FŒD., App. D, August 1402. [3] BETHENCOURT, 4, 8. [4] ANN., 389.

skill in stone-throwing, and were very swift of foot, having plenty of food in the sheep and wild goats which abounded in the islands. They skinned their prey with knives made of chipped flint, drying the flesh in the sun, and keeping it for use when no fish could be caught. They sat out on the rocks, fishing with lines made of goat's hair, and hooks made from goat's horn, split up to any required size, after being softened in a fire. The French, of course, pursued them, and made slaves of them in the usual way.

CHAPTER XIV

Insurrection in Wales.

In Wales, it was only too evident that the King's advisers had been grievously misinformed. Early in May, 1401, as we have already seen, Henry Percy had reported the complete submission of the counties of Merioneth and Caernarvon, and had predicted that if once the castle of Conway were recovered, the government of the country would be henceforward an easy task. But, on the [1]17th of May, he wrote again from Denbigh, pressing for payment of arrears in view of the desperate condition of the country, and threatening that, if he did not receive money speedily, he must resign his position as insupportable, and leave others to carry on the defence of the country, after the end of the month. At this time the insurrection was spreading southwards. On the 30th of May, aided by the Earl of Arundel and Sir [2]Hugh Browe, a [3]Cheshire gentleman, Percy encountered the rebels in the neighbourhood of Cader Idrys, at his own charges, but this was the last action in which he engaged in Wales. Failing to receive the sums demanded, and having also the charge of Berwick Castle, with the prospect of open fighting on a more congenial soil, Hotspur carried out his expressed intention and resigned his command in Wales. He repaired to England, to defend his own country and to [4]press his claims, as Warden of the East March, against the Scots. From Swineshead, near Spalding, in Lincolnshire,

[1] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 151. [2] He received from King Henry a grant of £40 per annum for life, February 11th, 1400.—Pat., 1 H. IV., 5, 15; Pells Issue Roll, 1 H. IV., Pasc., June 4th. [3] See Beamont (R. II.-H. V.). He was at Shrewsbury with Henry Percy.—Ann., 366. [4] Ord. Priv. Co., ii, 57.

he wrote earnestly requesting the payment of arrears for the defence of the North. He attended in person at the Great Council held on August 15th, and afterwards went northwards with his father, as one of the envoys commissioned to conduct negociations with the Scots. He was succeeded as [1]Justiciar by Sir Hugh le Despenser (September 1, 1401), whose authority was extended over the whole of Wales.

On the departure of Henry Percy, the flames of insurrection in Wales spread fast. North Wales, Powysland (*i.e.*, Montgomery and Denbigh), and Cardigan, joined the movement. Lampeter was burnt. Everywhere the English were attacked in their towns and castles. South Wales alone escaped. Early in [2]June, Owen had appeared in Powysland, but had been beaten off by Lord Powys, and left many wounded on the ground. But even under the walls of Powys Castle, the town of Welshpool was attacked and the suburbs burnt, and in the open country the people, being left without protection, submitted to the rebels.

News of this fatal turning in affairs was brought to the King, by messengers and urgent letters. [3]On August 30th, the Prince of Wales was ordered to advance at once with the men of Gloucester, Hereford, Shropshire, and Worcester. On [4]September 18th, proclamations were issued to the Sheriffs of 22 Western and Midland counties, to summon all Knights, Esquires, and archers who owed service, to meet the King at Worcester, by October 2nd at latest. By [5]September 29th, Henry was again at Evesham, "for the third time during twelve months." Here he spent two days, and in the morning of October 1st he moved on to Worcester. No time was to be lost, and all preparations were complete. [6]Accompanied by the Prince of

[1] PAT., 2 H. IV., 4, 9, 10. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 153. [3] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 2, 6. [4] RYM., viii, 225. [5] EVES., 176, who evidently inverts the order of events in the last two visits. [6] "Cum filio suo primogenito."—USK, 68.

Wales, he advanced with an immense army to chastise the rebels. The country they found all laid waste, destroyed with fire, famine, and sword. [1]On October 8th, the King was at Bangor, where "Jan Lloyt, parson of Llanlluhel," made his submission. On the same day he was at Caernarvon, and confirmed the appointment of John Bolde as Warden of the Castle. Entering Cardiganshire, the army spared "neither churches nor children." The Cistertian monks of Ystradflur, or Strata Florida, felt their vengeance. The [2]Abbey was used as the King's headquarters, and horses were stalled in the choir, close up to the high altar. The sacred vessels were plundered. One of the monks, who was taken with arms in his hands, was beheaded, and the rest were driven out. For six months the Abbey remained a desolation, and great misery was caused by the sudden stoppage of its charities, till, in [3]the spring of the following year, the King took it over into his possession, and appointed the Earl of Worcester and a clerk, as trustees, to re-establish the services, with all the attendant annuities and doles.

Everywhere the ruin proceeded unopposed, and Owen was nowhere to be found. Like the Scots, in the previous year, he played a waiting game, retiring always to the mountains, falling upon stragglers and destroying them in detail. At one time he was lucky enough to capture the horses and tent-equipage of the Prince of Wales, and with these trophies he made his way to the hills. A Welsh gentleman of Cardigan, Llewellyn ap Gryffyth Vaughan of Cayo, whose [4]importance is estimated by the quantity of wine (16 casks) which was drunk in his house every year (so that "a bettre envyned man was nowhere noon"), had two sons with Owen in the mountains. He offered to bring the King's army to where Owen was, but wilfully misled

[1] Rot. Viag., 28. [2] Eves., 175. [3] Pat., 3 H. IV., 1, 2, dated April 1st, 1402. [4] Cf. The Frankeleyn, in "Canterbury Tales," Prol. 342.

them, and gloried in his success. For this he was publicly drawn and hanged; his head was cut off, and his body quartered.

But the winter was fast drawing on, and no English army could winter in the mountains of Wales. The expedition was nothing but a demonstration of force, and after a week of ineffectual ravage the army withdrew, defeated by exposure and fatigue in a bleak and wasted country. They struck across to the upper valley of the Severn, reached [1]Mochtre, in Montgomeryshire, on the 13th of October, and by the 15th the King was back in Shrewsbury. The Earl of Rutland was appointed Governor of North Wales (October 16th), and the King moved to Shifnal (October 18th) to make final arrangements before returning homeward. The Earl of [2]Worcester was to be Lieutenant of South Wales, with the charge of the castles of Cardigan and Lampeter. He was to be supplied with bows, arrows, and lances, free of duty; corn for his garrisons was to be supplied from Ireland, and [3]three months' wages were paid for 50 men-at-arms and 120 archers. Sir John Oldcastle was left with 20 men-at-arms and 40 archers in the castle of Builth, in the upper valley of the Wye, thus securing by a line of strongholds the northern Border of South Wales. The men of Cardigan who had risen in rebellion were to be allowed to buy back their lands which had become forfeited, and, in token of the King's favour, they were to be permitted to retain their own Welsh language, which the English, in retaliation, had lately vowed to exterminate. [4]This moderation was recommended in the hope that the insurrection would not spread further south. A receiver (Sir Robert Eggersley) was appointed, and the money thus procured was to be devoted to paying the wages of the three

[1] Spelt "Mouche," in ROT. VIAG., m. 28. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 173. See his appointment, dated March 31st, 1402 (PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 7); but he is spoken of as Lieutenant of South Wales in earlier documents, *e.g.*, PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 5, 6, dated March 13th and 16th. [3] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., MICH., November 24th, 1401. [4] ROT. VIAG., 28.

garrisons, which were estimated to amount during the first three months to over [1]£8,000. To meet this charge, advances were also made by the [2]collectors of Customs in England. Further arrangements were made for strengthening the castles of Brecon, Llandovery, Caermarthen, and [3]Pains Castle (on the Arrow), as a second line, at the cost of their respective owners, and the Bishop of St. David's (Guy de Mona) was to exercise a general supervision and control. The Prince of Wales (now fourteen years of age) was to take over the island of Anglesey, lately given up by Sir Henry Percy. He was also to receive £1,000 per annum out of the estates of the Earl of March, in order to maintain his position, and to be under the tutelage of the Earl of Worcester. Provision was made for keeping up the strength of the castles of Powys and [4]Montgomeryshire, which had just fallen into the King's hands, owing to the death of John Charleton, Lord of Powys. He died on [5]October 18th, 1401, and Hugh, Lord Burnell, was appointed (November 28th) to the charge of the three castles of Montgomery, Dolvoreyn, and Kenlles, during the minority of the young Earl of March, his heir. Both Lord Burnell and [6]Edward Charleton, who took the title of Lord of Powys, were authorized to pardon any Welsh rebels who should sue for it without conditions. [7]Confiscated lands in Cardigan, Caermarthen, Michelchurch in Dynas, and Builth, were taken from rebel Welsh, and granted anew to loyal Welsh. One David Gam came in for a good share of the spoil; but the reader would be perplexed to sunder the sheep from the goats, in the puzzling lists of Owens ap Richards ap Griffiths ap Howels ap Llewelyns, Vaghans, Rees, Morgans, Madocs, and the rest.

[1] £8,080.—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 177. [2] See £150 from Southampton.—ROY. LET., i, 91. [3] "About a two miles from Wybank."—LEL. ITIN., vii, f. 27, 14. [4] DUGD., BARON., ii, 62; PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 23. [5] USK, 68. [6] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 22, dated December 2nd, 1401. [7] *Ibid*, 1, 23, 28, 29, dated November 9th and 12th, and December 3rd, 1401.

These [1]arrangements occupied the last remaining days of October. On the [2]28th October, the King was at Worcester, and was able to write that his plans had succeeded as well as he could wish. The army was then disbanded, and the King was back in Westminster by [3]November 1st. He then went to the castle at [4]Hertford, where he spent a few days, till November 15th.

But while the King was yet in Wales a somewhat mysterious move had been made by Owen. Before Henry Percy had left his command, communications had certainly passed between him and Owen, with a view to arranging some terms of submission. At a [5]personal interview between them, Owen had declared his willingness to submit, if Percy would use his influence with the King to guarantee to him his life and his possessions. Whether sincerely or not, he declared his wish for peace, and a curious three-cornered negociation was begun. Later in the year, a messenger "from the North," named [6]Jenkyn Tyby, brought letters to Owen, "as they deemed from Henry Percy." Owen, in reply, expressed his affection for and confidence in the Earl of Northumberland. The matter was laid before the King, and with his consent a messenger was sent from the Earl of Northumberland to Sir Edward Mortimer, who was a brother of that Earl of March lately killed in Ireland, and whose sister, Elizabeth, was the wife of Henry Percy. From Mortimer the communication was passed to Owen. In reply, [7]Owen expressed his willingness for peace, declared that the ruin and destruction of property, and the capture and murder of the [8]English, were caused by no fault of his, and complained that [9]part of his lawful heritage had been taken

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 177. [2] See his letter to the Emperor Rupert, in MARTENE, 1682. [3] RYM., viii, 230. [4] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 1, 28, November 3-13, 1401. [5] CHRON. GILES, 30; but wrongly assigned there to 1403. [6] ORIG. LET., II., i, 9. [7] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 59. [8] For the cruelty practised by Owen, see ANN., 337. "Quosdam perimens inhumano more." [9] In South Wales.—RYM., viii, 163.

from him. He added that he would gladly meet with the Earl of Northumberland on the English Border, but that he feared his life would not be safe, owing to his late threat to exterminate the English tongue from Wales.

On the King's return to London, the matter was set down for consideration by a [1]Council which met early in November. Great [2]differences of opinion were expressed. Some thought that no terms whatever should be made with the rebels; others urged that they should seem to offer terms, in order to get Owen into their power. No decision was arrived at, and the matter was allowed to drop.

Being, for the moment, driven out of Cardigan, [3]Owen, with a large host, moved North, and on November 2nd appeared before Caernarvon. But the Warden, [4]John Bolde, had lately received his long looked-for arrears of pay; the garrison had learnt caution from the events of a few months before at Conway, and a surprise was thus averted. When Owen and his Welshmen appeared, headed by his white standard with the golden [5]dragon, the townsmen poured out to attack him, and he was driven off with a loss of 300 men.

He withdrew to his home on the Dee, where he had gathered together many needy malcontents, and where feasting and [6]drunkenness secured to him the service of the host of wandering bards deprived of their accustomed means of support by the Ordinances of the early spring, and now turned into ready instruments to preach among the natives his crusade against "the Sassenach." His house at Sychnant became a [7]"sanctuary

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 175. [2] CHRON. GILES, 31. [3] USK, 69. [4] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., MICH., October 22nd, 1401. [5] He identified himself with the dragon in "the prophecy."—HALLE, xx. [6] See the fulsome flattery in the ode by the chief bard, Gryffyth Llwyd, who forgets his awful distance from the great man, "with British beverage hot."—PENNANT, i, 334. [7] So called by Iolo Goch, one of them—PENNANT, i, 328—called "Master of Arts, Poet Lawrell, or Cheif Poet, who hath written concerning the three provinces of Wales," in RHYDDERCH (1700-1730) MS., p. 91. See BRUT-Y-TYWYSOGION, xli; also LEWIS DWU'S Heraldic Visitation of Wales, i, 331.

of bards," who flattered his fancy and fed his ambition with their readings of the mysteries of Merlin and "The Brut," and the Prophecy of John of Bridlington.

But victory was yet very far from his grasp, and mere burning and plundering could make no real head against the castles and disciplined forces of England. Accordingly, though nominally engaged in treating with the English, he made this winter his first appeal for other help against them, and we have copies of two letters still preserved which he addressed to the King of Scotland and to the Lords of Ireland. The letters are dated from North Wales on [1]November 29th, and were sent across to Ireland, to be forwarded thence to their several destinations by the hands of messengers, who were authorized to tell more by word of mouth than could be committed to writing.

From Scotland, Owen had already received some help, or promises of help. Early in June, Scottish cruisers had appeared off the coast of Caernarvon, but the [2]vigilance of Henry Percy had fitted out vessels at his own cost, which started in pursuit, and a Scotch vessel with 35 armed men on board was chased into Milford Haven, and there made an easy prize. Owen now addressed himself directly to the Scottish King. His letter is written in French. In it he claims kindred with the Scottish King, as both are descended from sons of the mythic Brutus, himself from Camber, and the Scotch King from Albanact. In all seriousness he tells him that "the [3]Prophecy" has said that he shall be delivered by Scottish help from the oppression and tyranny of their mutual enemies, the Saxons. But he sets forth his great need of steady troops, and prays, "kneeling on my knees," that the Scotch King would send him such, promising that he, for his part, would not fail to be bounden all his life to repay the favour. To the Irish chiefs he sent a similar request,

[1] USK, 69. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 153. [3] See this rhapsody of nonsense in full, in GEOF. OF MONMOUTH, Book vii.

alleging that, though he was personally unknown to them, yet "the Prophecy" had foretold that Ireland should lend a helping hand, and reminding them that only so long as he could manfully maintain his independence in Wales, could they in Ireland hope for the peace and repose they so much needed.

Some of the bearers of these letters fell into the hands of the English in Ireland, and were at once beheaded; others may have succeeded in reaching Scotland. A Welshman, David ap Jevan Goz, who had spent twenty years in warfare in the East of Europe, was employed to interest the King of France in the struggle. Recommended by the French King, he started for Scotland, but was captured on the voyage by the English, and safely clapped in the Tower.

Meanwhile, through all this winter, Owen was undisputed master of the open country in Caernarvon and Merioneth. The lands of the [1]Bishop of Bangor were "in great part destroyed," and an attack was made upon [2]Harlech Castle, which was only averted by the prompt despatch of 100 men-at-arms and 400 archers, from Chester, to its relief (December 14th, 1401). On the [3]30th of January, 1402, Owen led a raid [4]against Ruthin. The town was burnt, the lands plundered, and the cattle driven off securely to the banks of the Dee. Emboldened by success, he again renewed the attack, [5]after a few days delay. This time he laid his plans with greater cunning, and approached Ruthin stealthily, with a small portion of his force. Lord Grey was warned of his intention. Smarting under the recent insult, he got ready what few troops he had, and sallied out against him. But his men were over confident. Cheated by a feigned retreat, the little band rushed recklessly

[1] TYLER (i, 129), quoting PELLS ROLL, January 18th, 1402. [2] PELLS ROLL, in TYLER, i, 121; ORIG. LET., II., i, 14. [3] USK, 69. [4] Welsh writers lay the scene of this action on the River Fyrnwy. PENNANT (i, 345) following CARTE (ii, 654), who gives no reference. [5] "In Quadragesimâ." —EVES., 177. Probably about February 14th.

in pursuit of the flying Welsh. They were drawn completely into a trap, surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. [1]Many of them were killed. Lord Grey himself was taken prisoner, and removed for safety to the mountains of Caernarvon.

Nevertheless, Owen spared the neighbouring lands of Denbigh, and the estates belonging to the family of Mortimer, for a purpose which will soon be only too apparent.

[1]Usk (69) says 2,000; but he was not in the country at the time, and only gives this number as it reached him at Rome.

CHAPTER XV

A Chapter of Marriages.

While these events were passing in Wales, a Great Council had met in London on [1]January 29th or 30th, 1402, and immediately afterwards a Parliament assembled at [2]Coventry, where the dread of the Welsh was more keenly felt. No [3]writs are preserved, and the Rolls contain only six private petitions, from which very little can be gathered. It had been originally intended that a Parliament should meet at Westminster [4]early in February, and summons had been sent out, dated December 2nd, for the members to assemble on Monday after the Feast of the Purification (February 2nd). But early in January other orders were issued, cancelling these writs, and the informal meeting at Coventry was substituted. The Parliament must have differed very little in composition from the Great Council of the previous August. Little was done beyond formally voting the subsidies, and a [5]small Committee of twenty members was appointed to secure the payment of arrears, and the repayment of advances made on the guarantee of the coming subsidy during the previous months of scarcity. The Committee were to meet on Tuesday, February 19th. But the whole device looks like a manœuvre to govern by

[1] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 179. [2] Rot. Parl., iii. [3] Return of Members (Pt. I.) refers to a Parliament summoned to meet at Westminster, January 30th, 1402; probably the Great Council. [4] Claus. 3 H. IV., 1, 17. Pells Issue Roll, Mich., 3 H. IV., contains payments to the two sets of messengers, dated December 15th, 1401, and January 14th, 1402, respectively. The Convocations were to meet in London and York, on the first Monday in Lent, and Thursday after the Octave of Easter, respectively.—Claus. 3 H. IV., 1, 14, 15. [5] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 180.

Great Councils instead of Parliaments. By the [1]advice of the Council, the collectors of customs and subsidies were examined as to what amounts were available, and in many cases advances [2]were obtained from collectors or private persons.

The time was fast drawing on for the marriage of the Princess Blanche. In the negociations of the preceding year it will be remembered that it had been stipulated that she should be at Cologne by Easter of the year 1402, and that Louis should meet her there, and conduct her at once to Heidelberg, for the marriage. The winter had been spent in preparing her outfit, and the [3]Issue Rolls of the Exchequer record payments of £1,840 on this account alone, for woollen cloth, embroidery, furs, skins, saddles, and other necessaries of a great lady's trousseau. One hundred pounds was spent, "for cloth of gold and other wares," at the establishment of the millionaire mercer, [4]Richard Whityngton, who had more than once advanced loans of 1,000 marks to the King, to meet pressing necessities. Horses likewise were purchased to the amount of £40, to be sent across with her, and the various members of the proposed escort were summoned early in the [5]year to be ready for the voyage to Cologne. Of the promised dower of 40,000 nobles, it was arranged that the first instalment (viz.: 16,000 nobles) should be paid over by Henry at the solemnization of the wedding, and the remainder by instalments to be spread over the two following years. Already orders had been issued to raise the first-named sum, either through the Sheriffs and Bailiffs, in the [6]feudal form of "a reasonable aid,"

[1] ROY. LET., i, 90. [2] RYM., viii, 245. [3] PELLS, MICH., 3 H. IV., March 14th, PASC.; *Ibid*, April 8th, 29th, May 1st, 4th, 5th, 8th, 9th, June 14th, &c., &c. [4] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, MICH., 3 H. IV., December 1st, 1401. He is first styled Alderman, in MICH., 5 H. IV., December 21st, 1403. [5] Payments to the messengers were enrolled February 25th, 1402.—PELLS ISSUE, MICH., 3 H. IV. [6] PAT., 3 H. IV., 23, dated February 16th, 1402; PELLS ISSUE, MICH., 3 H. IV., shows payments to messengers sent to Sheriffs on this matter, dated December 14th, 1401.

or from the King's tenants, by loans to be subsequently repaid. On [1]February 16th, 1402, two English Commissioners crossed from London to Dordrecht, and proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for the Princess's journey. They took with them an [2]indenture, sealed with the Great Seal, "touching a certain composition" as to the dowry of 40,000 marks. [3]On the 22nd of February, a safe-conduct was obtained from the Count of Holland, for the Princess and eight attendants, with their retinue. It was expected that they would not return till four weeks after Whitsuntide. Vessels had to be hired for the voyage up the Rhine, and safe-conducts had to be procured for the whole party when the time should come. On the English side, [4]twelve transport ships and one man-of-war *(balinger)* were to be ready in the Orwell, "by Wednesday next after Palm Sunday," to convoy the Princess across. The Commissioners visited [5]Utrecht, where they presented to the Bishop a roll of scarlet cloth, a fabric upon which an altogether [6]fancy value was placed in those days. But money came in very slowly indeed. Loans were raised in the Dutch and Flemish cities until no more could be procured, and by the end of May the English representatives had not advanced a step, but were still stayed for want of the necessary funds.

The Emperor Rupert, in the meantime, had recrossed the Alps to Germany, having [7]failed entirely to win over the cities of Lombardy, which still supported the deposed Wenceslaus

[1] ROY. LET., i, 99. In PELLS ISSUE ROLL, PASC., 4 H. IV., June 1st, the expenses of Sir William Sturmy in Germany date from February 16th to July 23rd. [2] See memorandum (dated February 16th, 1402), in CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 10. [3] As appears from a brief entry (III. Memoriale B.M., Cas. R.), in the Rijks-Archiv, at the Hague. [4] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 6, dated March 11th, 1402. [5] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 1, 6. [6] In the only instance quoted in ROGERS (i, 577), the price appears at 15s. the yard! [7] See the voluminous batch of letters, in MARTENE, i, 1634, &c.; MONSTR., ch. vi; PFEFFEL, i, 557; SISMONDI, 194. For the bull finally investing him Emperor and King of the Romans (dated October 1st, 1403), see USK, 76, and RINALDI, xvii, 260.

and his powerful partisan Jean Galeazzo, Duke of Milan. On May 22nd, Rupert was at Mayence, holding a Council with the Electors and others as to the condition of the Empire. Henry, meanwhile, being impatient of the delay, wrote a sharp [1]letter to his Council, urging that the money required must be forthcoming somehow, even if all other matters had to be postponed, and [2]by a great effort, sufficient was got together to enable the Princess and her retinue to start from the Orwell on [3]June 21st, for Cologne, [4]splendidly arrayed, and abundantly supplied with costly presents. The provision for her retinue was charged to the Exchequer at [5]nearly £2,000, including payments of £149 3s. 4d. to the Grocer, for "spice;" a charge sufficiently explained when we know that such luxuries as [6]pepper and [7]sugar sold for 4s. per pound. She was [8]escorted by the Earl of Somerset, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Countess of Salisbury. Her Treasurer, John Chandeler, carried 16,000 nobles in cash (£5,333 6s. 8d.), as the first instalment of her dower, and received liberal douceurs on his own account.

They crossed to Dordrecht, and sailed up the Rhine to [9]Cleves. Here they were honourably entertained by the Count Adolphe II., who had married Agnes, a daughter of the Emperor Rupert, in 1399. But his wife had recently died (1401), and he was already casting about for another. He spoke upon the subject to the Bishop and the Earl of Somerset, who promised to report his wishes to the English King.

At Cologne they were met by the young Count Louis, but the English were a little shocked to find him so [10]plainly dressed and so poorly attended, unworthily, as they thought, of the son of one who held so high a place. From Cologne, the Princess

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 184, dated Berkhampstead, May 15th, 1402. [2] See writs in DEP. KEEP. 2nd REPT., App., p. 181. [3] ISSUE ROLLS, quoted in BEKYNGTON, i, cxiii. [4] "Cum grandi apparatu."—ANN., 342. [5] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., PASC., June 21st, and *passim*. [6] ROGERS, i, 627. [7] *Ibid*, i, 634. [8] EULOG., iii, 403. [9] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 226. [10] ANN., 342.

passed on to Heidelberg, where she was married on the [1]6th of July. Her escort returned to England on the [2]25th of the same month. Her winning English beauty secured for her a very kindly welcome in her German home. The Emperor, a [3]scholarly man, announced her arrival in a courteous [4]letter, praising her modesty and her good looks, comparing her to a tender vine that would put forth her shoots from generation to generation; while the young husband could not repress his delight at the beauty of his girlish bride, whose charms surpassed his utmost dreams, and in the intoxication of his joy he furbished up again the time-honoured jest that she had not an English, but an angel's face.

We may pause for a moment to contemplate, with mingled pleasure and regret, this happy, but short-lived, marriage, contrasting as it does so sweetly with the many wretched failures which resulted in that age from the vile habit of sacrificing young people, without their consent, to the supposed necessities of policy and convenience. The young Princess won golden opinions from all with whom she came in contact. Her generous and affectionate heart responded well to the warmth of her welcome, and in [5]five months her father was gladdened with tidings that she had conformed to the novelty and strangeness of her new home, as if it had been her native land. But the good wishes for her future were not destined to be fulfilled. After a very few years of happiness the poor girl sickened of a fever while travelling in Alsace, and all help being of no avail, she [6]died (May 22nd, 1406) in giving birth to her first infant

[1] FOREIGN ACCOUNTS, 1-6 H. IV., quoted in EULOG., iii, lxiv. Quo die præfata filia Regis sponsata fuit filio Regis Romanorum. [2] ANN., 343. [3] He is addressed as "Omnium modernorum principum literatissime," in a letter from Andreas de Marinis, of Cremona, in MARTENE, i, 1696. Cf. BEKYNGTON, ii, 366. "Stili vehementur egregii venustate conspicuus." [4] See the letters (dated July 22nd, 1402), in MARTENE, i, 1701, 1702. [5] See letter (dated Nuremberg, January 7th, 1403), in MARTENE, i, 1704. [6] See letters of Rupert and Louis, from University Library of Leipzig, in BEKYNGTON, ii, 366-372.

boy. Her body was carried to Heidelberg, and buried there, in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin. The Court and the whole people mourned for her, as for the loss of a friend. The unpaid dowry alone remained to mark, for many years, the short period of friendly and intimate intercourse between the English and the Rhenish Courts. Part of the first instalment had been raised with difficulty from the landowners in England, amidst [1]general grumbling and discontent. Time did not make the subsequent payments easier. The three years passed, and the claim was still far in arrears. Long after the death of the Lady Blanche, [2]claims for payment were periodically presented, and again and again periodically evaded, or satisfied only in very small driblets indeed. After the death of Henry, the arrears were in part commuted by his son into an annual allowance to the Count Palatine; but this, again, was always in arrears, and [3]in the following reign, thirty years after the death of the Princess Blanche, 5,000 nobles, or one-eighth of the dowry originally promised, remained still unpaid. It was not till the year [4]1444, that the last claims were finally satisfied, after forty years' delay, when the nephew of Blanche was King of England, and the son of Louis was grown to manhood, and able to press for a settlement in his father's name.

Although the country was in great danger from foreign wars and from treachery within, yet the spring and early summer of the year 1402 were largely taken up with domestic arrangements at Henry's Court. Reference has been made [5]above to certain communications that had been passing for some time with the Court of Denmark. A remarkable vitality had lately been exhibited in that distant and unknown region. In [6]1387, Olaf III., King of Denmark and Norway, had died at the age

[1] USK, 82. [2] See the particulars, with references well summarized, in BEKYNGTON, i, cxii-cxv. [3] RYM., x, 634, March 1st, 1436. [4] *Ibid*, xi, 70, July 14th, 1444. [5] P. 203. [6] L'ART DE VERIFIER, ii, 93.

of sixteen years. At his death his mother, Margaret, who had been Regent for him during his lifetime, succeeded to the throne of the two countries. To these she added that of Sweden, as widow of Hakon, lately King of that country, after overthrowing her rival, the German Prince, Albert of Mecklenburg, who in derision had sent her a [1]stone to sharpen her scissors and needles. [2]"With the exception of Stockholm, and a few strongholds which still held out for Albert, her dominion now extended from Lake Ladoga to the Orkneys, and from Greenland and the North Cape to the borders of Germany." Having thus established her influence, she attempted to consolidate it for the future, and by the [3]Edict of Calmar (June 17th, 1397) the three countries were declared to be an united federation for ever, to be governed by an elective King. The first King chosen was Eric, Duke of Pomerania (variously called Eric VII. or Eric IX.), then fifteen years of age, a grandson of Margaret's elder sister, who would thus have a fair expectation of being acceptable to the Norse and German parties alike.

In [4]1400, Margaret had sent to Paris, requesting one of the French Princesses in marriage for Eric, and the request had received favourable consideration, but the French King had then only one daughter (Jeannie) at all eligible. She was only nine years old, and the negociation appears to have been soon dropped. Two proposals of marriage were now opened at the English Court, as a result of friendly embassies in the previous year. It was proposed that the young King Eric should be married to the Princess Philippa, [5]Henry's second daughter,

[1] This stone remained hanging by an iron chain in the Church of Roeskilde till it was removed by Charles Gustave to Sweden.—MALLET, i, 359. [2] *Ibid*, i, 362. [3] See it in the French translation (from Huitfeld) in MALLET, i, 369. [4] JUV., 419. [5] "Secundogenita."—RYM., viii, 265. It is noteworthy that in one of the official entries (PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 4 H. IV., MICH., December 9th, 1402) Eric and Catherine are called the son and daughter of the Queen. These, I suppose, must be courtesy titles.

and that Henry, Prince of Wales, should marry Katherine, Eric's sister. With the former of these proposals, at any rate, Henry showed himself quite ready to agree, but his Council, having a very present experience of the difficulty of raising money for providing marriage portions, seem not to have been so enthusiastic for the match. The [1]King, however, pressed them for a more favourable answer to the request, and the Danish envoy, [2]Peter Lykke, Archdeacon of Roeskilde, remained lodged at Kempton, at the public expense.

At length, at a meeting held in the Tower of London on the [3]8th of May, 1402, the Prince of Wales, in the presence of the King, authorized certain ambassadors to enter into a contract of marriage between himself and Katherine, the sister of Eric, while a [4]week later (May 14th), when the preparations for the departure of Blanche were being finally pushed forward, the young Princess Philippa, in the presence of her father and three of her brothers, Henry, John, and Humphrey, (Prince Thomas being absent in Ireland), signed an instrument at Berkhampstead, signifying her willingness to become the wife of Eric. Four years elapsed before Philippa's [5]marriage, and in the case of the Prince of Wales the proposal never reached fulfilment; but negociations for the double espousals continued without interruption, and an [6]old Latin couplet in a chronicle of Roeskilde records the prayer that *both* may prove the earnest of a lasting peace.

On [7]June 28th, the Bishop of Bangor and three others were despatched, with full authority to open negociations for the

[1] ROY. LET., i, 97, dated Windsor, April 28th, 1402. [2] Cf. *Ibid*, i, 80, with PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., PASC. (June 20th), where a payment of 50 marks is recorded to Peter Roskylden. [3] RYM., viii, 257. [4] *Ibid*, viii, 259. [5] August, 1406.—EULOG., iii, lxiv; ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 222.

[6] Angli cum Danis tractant *sponsalia bina*.
Quæ det divina pietas fore fœdera pacis.—LANGEBEK, i, 193.

[7] RYM., viii, 265. PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., PASC., contains payment of £26 13s. 4d. to John Parant and the Bishop, dated June 27th, 1402.

double marriage. They arrived at Helsingborg on [1]July 25th, but, owing to the absence of Queen Margaret, they could not begin negociations for some time. Several points arose requiring consideration. Among others, the English envoys required an undertaking that, in case Eric should die childless, the succession should fall to the children (if any) of Prince Henry and Katherine. The further consideration of these questions had to be postponed till after July 2nd, 1403. On the [2]25th of April, 1404, the Archdeacon of Roeskilde was in England, and pressed the Council for a reply, but they still postponed their answer till September 29th, "or thereabouts." Owing to stormy weather and piracy, communications between the two countries became increasingly difficult. The Archdeacon returned to his own country in September, 1404, and on [3]November 18th, King Eric sent across a letter, expressing the hope that his bride might be in Denmark by at least the following year.

All these, which we may call domestic negociations, were conducted in the light of open day, and the records abound to superfluity in tedious and formal documents, minutely setting forth the exactest and pettiest of details. They led to no lasting political results, and do not, in fact, deserve the lengthened notice which the frequent and repeated documents bearing on them would seem to compel. But while the Council was thus openly engaged in trivial matters, of no real public importance, a marriage contract had been concluded in semi-secrecy, which threatened to let loose a desperate struggle, and open another century of bloodshed and foreign and civil war. Yet the printed English records contain almost no allusion to the matter, till after it had become an accomplished fact, and but for documents which illustrate the domestic history of

[1] ROY. LET., i, 117, dated November 2nd, 1402. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 222.
[3] ROY. LET., i, 409.

Brittany, we should have been left without a hint as to its existence.

When Henry had passed through Brittany on his way to Ravenspur, less than three years before, he had been [1]kindly entertained by the old Duke John IV of Brittany, who was his uncle, having married as his first wife the [2]Princess Mary, a daughter of Edward III., and a sister of John of Ghent. But this had been many years ago, and the Duke, after marrying a second English wife (Johanna Holland, daughter of the Earl of Kent) who, like the first, had died childless, had married as his third wife (in 1386) Johanna, one of the daughters of Charles II., King of Navarre, but "more a Frenchwoman than a Spaniard." Between husband and wife there was great disparity of age, but even though the Duke was "a [3]Prince old enough to have been her grandfather," yet there was much attachment between them. After the old man's death, and when she was Queen of England, Johanna held his memory in great respect, erecting in the Cathedral at [4]Nantes a white marble tomb and effigy; and in a subsequent grant to her aunt Johanna, Countess of Rohan, she expressed her gratitude to her for [5]having brought about their marriage.

At the time of Henry's visit to Brittany, in 1399, the young Duchess was taking a prudent and active part in a very troubled reign. She was the mother of six children, four sons and two daughters, and, as evidence of the intimacy still subsisting between the Breton and English families, one of her daughters, Marie, had been previously contracted in marriage with Henry's eldest son (afterwards the Prince of Wales), though the boy was at the time less than eight years old, and the little girl not yet six. This premature contract, however, had been thwarted and

[1] FROIS., ch. cvi. [2] One of the earliest recorded memorial windows was put up in her name in the church at Langley, in 1368. It is charged at 280s.—ROGERS, ii, 535. [3] STRICKLAND, i, 462. [4] Figured in LOBINEAU, i, 499. Cf. MANET, ii. [5] RYM., viii, 288, dated January 1st, 1403.

prevented by the vigilance of the Court at Paris, though no ill-will remained on either side when Henry visited Nantes and Vannes in the summer of 1399.

A few months after this the Duke of Brittany died [1](November 1st, 1399), leaving his title to his eldest son, John V., a boy ten years of age, under the governance of his mother. By a codicil to his [2]will, made on his deathbed, and dated October 26th, 1399, he made the Duchess his principal executrix, and granted her a large sum of money as her own absolute property. [3]Appeals were made to Henry, who was now King of England, to restore the castle and honor of Richmond to the Duke of Brittany, as the rightful owner; but, though the Duke offered to do homage for the castle, Henry found himself unable or unwilling to admit the claim, and [4]Richmond remained henceforth in English hands.

During the next three years, communications had certainly been passing between the two countries, for the Close [5]Rolls of the first year of Henry's reign contain a precept to the Keeper of the port of Southampton, to allow Antoine Ricze (a confidential minister of Johanna) and Nicholas Andrewyth to proceed with letters to the Duchess of Brittany; but of the nature of the communications between the Courts of London and Vannes, we have no record, except in one private [6]letter brought by a Breton lady, and containing little else but general courtesies and compliments.

Unknown to us, however, there must have been growing an understanding between Henry and Johanna. On [7]March 22nd, 1401, she had her little son John solemnly invested as Duke of

[1] STRICKLAND, i, 469. [2] See the will and codicil, in LOBINEAU, ii, 802. [3] Refusal dated October 27th, 1399, five days before the death of Duke John IV.—ROT. PARL., iii. [4] P. 27. [5] CLAUS. 1 H. IV., 1, 18. Variously spelt Rys, Riz, Riczi, Ricze. He had been previously sent to England on public business, in 1393.—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 48. [6] Dated Vannes, February 15th, 1400.—ROY. LET., i, 19. [7] MANET, ii, 436; STRICKLAND, i, 469.

Brittany, in Rennes, and herself acknowledged as Duchess Regent during the remainder of his nonage. [1]At the close of the same year Antoine Ricze was again in England, with one John Ruys, and sailed from Southampton to Brittany about December 16th, "to conduct certain business" of the English King. After thus establishing herself with her people, Johanna took secret steps to procure a dispensation from the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII., whose authority was recognized by the Court of Brittany, in common with those of France and Spain. The dispensation permitted her to marry anyone she pleased, within the fourth degree of consanguinity, without naming the man on whom her choice had fallen. It has been supposed that both the Pope and the French King had been entirely hoodwinked by this action of Johanna, but this is hard to believe; otherwise her rapid action consequent upon her receiving the Pope's permission would certainly have led to a violent outburst of indignation. A better key to the difficulty is found in remembering that the Pope and the French Court were at the time in open disagreement; and, moreover, we have it on the authority of a contemporary [2]Breton chronicle, that before the negociations for her marriage Johanna had tacitly the consent of the King of France, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri, many Bishops and Barons of Brittany, and even of the Pope himself, with permission for intercourse with schismatics.

Benedict's bull was dated [3]March 20th, 1402. Within a fortnight, viz.: on the 3rd of April in the same year, Johanna was, by proxy, contracted in marriage to the "schismatic" Henry IV., King of England, at Eltham, in presence of the

[1] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 2, 3, in tergo. PELLS ISSUE ROLL, MICH., 3 H. IV. (December 15th), contains payment (£8) for the ship, which took them back. [2] CHRON. BRIOCENSE, in LOBINEAU, ii, 878. "Si non expresse, tacite tamen et permissive." [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., quoting LOBINEAU, ii, 874; MORICE, i, 433.

Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been with Henry in exile at Vannes, when last he saw the Duchess. The Earl of Northumberland, Henry Percy, the Earls of Worcester and Somerset, and a few others, were also present as witnesses of the ceremony. The Duchess was represented by the Breton envoy Antoine Ricze, who brought a [1]letter written in French, sealed with her seal and signed by herself. [2]Henry, in person, put the wedding ring on the finger of the envoy, who, in turn, speaking in Johanna's stead, took Henry for the lady's husband, and plighted to him her troth.

The envoy returned, but the proceedings at Eltham could not long be kept a secret. The coasts of [3]Brittany were too vital a part of France to be allowed to fall thus easily into the power of the King of England, and already the Council had had timely [4]warning that French spies were about the King's person, watching to report proceedings on the other side of the Strait. Directions were issued that a small squadron, including two ships of war, fully armed with men-at-arms and archers, should be ready at Southampton to cross over to Brittany, [5]and messengers were sent to several lords and ladies, to be ready to join the escort of the new Queen. But no money was forthcoming, and in the absence of definite orders from the Council the men-at-arms dispersed, and the crews melted away. Orders were again sent, requiring them to be ready at Southampton by June 22nd, 1402, but when [6]Sir Philip Courtenay, who was to command the little fleet, sent to Southampton to see how his orders were being obeyed, he found that not a man was ready.

It is [7]suggested, with much probability, that the Duchess

[1] Dated Vannes, March 15th, 1402.—LOBINEAU, ii, 874. [2] STRICKLAND, i, 471, quoting MS. CHRON. DE NANTES. [3] "En France, dont la Bretagne est la meilleure et la plus seure entrée."—MEZERAI, i, 923. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 182, circ. September, 1401. [5] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 3 H. IV., PASC., July 15th, 1402. [6] See his letter (dated June 26th, 1402), in ROY. LET., i, 106. [7] CARTE, ii, 653.

intended at that time to convey her children across to England. But the mysterious movements of the little squadron at Southampton gave rise to other sinister [1]suspicions, which were industriously circulated in England for a purpose which we shall now be able to understand.

[1] RYM., viii, 262.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BEGGING FRIARS.

IT was not without sound reason that the Council had advised that all mention of further foreign alliance and marriage portions should be indefinitely postponed. The disaffection which had been reported in the previous summer, in the western counties, had not subsided. In spite of the Commissions, outrages were still [1]frequently occurring in all parts of the country. Riots between Welsh and English were reported from [2]Bristol. In March, 1402, William Slepe was killed at Coventry. At [3]Polesworth, in Warwickshire, the Abbey lands were attacked. Outrages were committed at [4]Reglesey, in Somerset, at [5]Huddeswell, Hornsea, and Poppleton, in Yorkshire, at [6]Tanstoke, in Devon, and [7]Beer, in Dorsetshire. The people were sullen; the country was everywhere distracted by alarms of invasion, and the first instalment of the dower for the Princess Blanche was being scraped together with the greatest difficulty. "The [8]peple of this land began to grucche ayens Kyng Harri, and beer him hevy, because he took thair good and paid not therfore, and desired to have ayeen Kyng Richarde." Women and priests enrolled themselves among the lawbreakers, for among [9]a list of "notorious robbers" in Suffolk, dated January 26th, 1402, we find the names of Agnes Leche and William, "Parson of the church of Pisseye" (*i.e.*, Pitsea), with John, "the Parson's servant of Pisseye."

In every district the disaffection was fostered by missionaries

[1] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 8, in tergo, March 10th, 1402. [2] *Ibid*, 2, 4, August 5th, 1402. [3] *Ibid*, m. 13. [4] *Ibid*, m. 26. [5] *Ibid*, m. 31. [6] *Ibid*, 2, 1, September 13th. [7] *Ibid*, 2, 17. [8] CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., p. 23, translating EULOG., iii, 389. [9] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 28.

preaching sedition. [1]Many members of the Mendicant Orders lent themselves to spread the discontent, and in taverns, and open places of public resort, worked up the exasperation of the people to the verge of rebellion. The King, they said, had failed to keep his promises, and the oath that he had taken at his coronation. What benefit had the people got from their change of masters? Taxes had not been remitted, and the country was harassed by ceaseless warfare. The flames spread fast, and every day increased in fierceness. Some of these preachers of sedition were caught and imprisoned in the Tower of London, and orders were sent to the Sheriffs and other officials in the counties of Cornwall, Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Dorset, to lose no opportunity of contradicting these false statements, and of assuring all loyal people that the King had never ceased, and would never cease, to faithfully keep the oath and promises taken and made at his coronation.

Meantime, war had openly begun on the borders of Scotland. The English had made many marauding incursions in small bodies, and news arrived that the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas were meditating a great invasion of the North. To aid them in their plans they spread a rumour that Richard, the late King, was alive; that he had never died (as was asserted) at Pontefract, but that he had escaped and fled into Scotland, whence he was now about to return, supported by a large army of Scots, to retake possession of his rightful kingdom. To prove that he was yet alive, [2]letters purporting to come from his hand were sent to those who had been his friends, in various parts of England.

This rumour has disturbed many minds down to the present day, perhaps more in our time than in the generation in which it was first circulated. Whether it was true or not must be

[1] RYM., viii, 255. [2] EULOG., iii, 389.

judged by the long train of succeeding events. I only now draw attention to the certain fact that it first began more than two years after Richard's reputed death, and was circulated with the express object of inciting rebellion amongst Henry's subjects at a time of great excitement and serious embarrassment. No contemporary, writing with a knowledge of the subsequent facts of the case, appears to have seriously believed that Richard was really in Scotland, though that somebody was there to personate him need not be doubted at all. The story, as rumoured, amounts briefly to this :—

About this time a poor stranger was found wandering in one of the islands off the West of Scotland. How he had got there [1]was not known, but he was seen by chance by the wife of a chieftain there, who was herself a daughter of one of the Bissets, an English family settled in Ireland. The chieftain's wife had seen King Richard in Ireland, some years before, and was struck with the resemblance between him and this poor stranger. She at once related what she had observed to her husband, who was brother to the Lord of the Isles. The stranger was forthwith sent for and questioned. Being asked if he were Richard, lately King of England, he said: "No." Nevertheless, he was secured, and information of the circumstance was sent to the Scottish Court. An arrangement was soon made; the stranger was forwarded across into Scotland, and an [2]ordinance was made by the Scottish Council that he should be kept in the custody of Lord Montgomery. Lord [3]Montgomery was taken prisoner by the English at Humbledon

[1] Bot I can nocht tell ye case,
Off Pawmfret as he chapit wase.—WYNTOWN, ix, xx.

[2] "In til tyme yat they hadden made *ye trete* in to Scotland, that they wolden receyven him, and thanne was *ye ordinaunce* by the Conseyl of Scotland, yat the Lord Momgomry shulde have ye kepyng of him."—From Confession of John Pritwell, in TRAIS., App. A, 271. It is true that the confession shows that most of this story was trumped up; but the mention of "the treaty" and "the ordinance" refers, I suppose, to well-known historical facts. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 487.

(September 14th, 1402). Afterwards, through a long series of years, the stranger passed into the charge of several successive keepers, such as King Robert III., who handed him over to Sir David Fleming of Cumbirnauld. After the death of [1]Robert and the [2]murder of Fleming, in 1405, he was kept in the custody of the Duke of Albany. He thus passed from the custody of one state keeper to another, but always in the strictest seclusion, so that [3]very few saw him, or could have any chance of knowing who he really was. As we shall see afterwards, the King of France and the Earl of Northumberland, made every effort to see the stranger, and to ascertain for themselves the truth of the rumour; but, though both were desperately interested in proving him to be the veritable missing King, their curiosity could not be satisfied. It was only known that he was [4]well treated by his captors, that he was a man [5]without any sense of religion, that he seldom showed any desire to hear mass, and that he often acted like a half-wit or a madman.

Whether we have here enough to establish a case as to the identity of the interesting captive, must be left an open question. Personation for the sake of imposture was by no means an unknown device in the diplomacy of that age. [6]Margaret, the Regent of Denmark, had just had to deal with an impostor who had risen in Norway, pretending to be her own son Olaf, dead

[1] TYTLER, iii, 338, quoting ROT. COMPOT., iii, 69. "A tempore obitus bonæ memoriæ Domini Regis fratris sui." [2] WYNTOWN, ix, xxv, 11.

[3] Quhethir he had bene King or n'ane,
Thare wes bot few that wyst certane.—WYNTOWN.

[4] "Reverentur, ut decuit, procuratus."—SCOTICHRON, ii, 427.

[5] Of Devotioune n'ane he wes,
And seildyn will had to here mess,
As he bare hym like wes he,
Oft half-wod or wilde to be.—WYNTOWN.

[6] MALLET, i, 375. On July 25th, 1402, when Henry's Ambassadors landed in Denmark, she was absent in Sweden on this very business. "Circa præsentationem personæ illius qui falso et ficte asseruit se Regem Daciæ et Norwegiæ et ejus *combustionem*."—ROY. LET., i, 117.

twelve years before. But she caught her opponent, and had him burnt alive without delay. Maudeleyn, the priest, had traded for a very short space upon his likeness to the imprisoned Richard, but he had let others see him, and, being captured, he was convicted and hanged. The present imposture, however, was of another kind. Hopes were excited and dashed to the ground, renewed and again disappointed, but friends and enemies never got a sight of the mysterious stranger in the flesh, and, whether monarch or madman, he remained for years in the strictest secrecy. By Henry he was believed to be an Englishman named Thomas [1]Warde, of Trumpington, and when the immediate danger of the deception was past, English politicians dismissed him from their calculations with contempt, as [2]"the madman," "the phantom," "the [3]mammet," or dummy.

Straightway, letters were despatched from Scotland to the King of France, in which it was cautiously stated that a man had found his way into Scotland, and that two [4]Dominican Friars had declared that it was King Richard himself. With the English, however, no such half-statement was made. Letters were sent to many in England who were known to be still partisans of Richard, informing them that he was alive in Scotland, and would show himself about Midsummer Day next following; that it was his will that they should be ready for the event, and make all preparations to meet him.

These dangerous letters were carried by secret messengers to the North of England, and the rumour rapidly spread to London, and through every county in the kingdom. We have a curious record of the proceedings of one such emissary from the North, which is well worth quoting in detail. Early in

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 544, March 1404. [2] In 1407, he is called "illum *fatuum* se dicentem Regem Ric^m." Cf. "illud ydolum," in Archbishop Arundel's letter to Henry, in ARCHÆOL., xxiii, 297. [3] ORIG. LET. Cf. CHAUCER, "Parson's Tale," pp. 557, 565, where "maumet" is used as an equivalent for "idol." [4] "Frer Jacobynes." Jacobitæ.—EULOG., iii, 394.

[1]May, 1402 (somewhere about Ascensiontide), one William Balshalf, from Lancashire, visited John Bernard, at Offley, near Hitchin, in Hertfordshire, saying that Richard was alive in Scotland, and would come into England by June 24th next, or earlier; that he had given orders that all should be arrayed and in readiness to meet him when he came; that Henry had good notice of it, and had collected much treasure from his subjects, intending to escape from his kingdom and cross to Brittany, where he would marry the Duchess. Upon this, Bernard asked what was to be done. "Take your men with you, and go out to meet King Richard," said the other. Hereupon the Hertfordshire yeoman addressed himself to two of his neighbours, and on his statement of the case the three agreed to start to meet King Richard at Atherstone, in Warwickshire, a mile or so from the Cistercian Abbey of Merivale. But before the 24th of June arrived, John Bernard had had leisure to repent. He went and laid an information before the coroner. Balshalf was called, and denied the accusations against him. Then followed the usual challenge to submit to the trial by battle. Bernard, being victorious in the lists, received a full pardon for his share in the transactions, while there is little doubt that Balshalf forfeited his life soon after on this convincing proof of his guilt.

A similar fate at the same time overtook a personage of whom we now hear for the first and only time, [2]Sir Roger Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, and consequently a brother of Richard II. He became entangled in the new seditious movement, and on the [3]19th of May, an order was issued to the Mayor of London for his arrest, together with a priest named [4]John Calf. Both were committed to the Tower, May 24th. Clarendon was arraigned, and accused of treason.

[1]RYM., viii, 262; PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 15. [2]WALS., ii, 249. [3]PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 16. [4]CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 15.

He, also, was adjudged to submit to the ordeal by battle, but, failing in the lists, he was taken and hanged as a traitor, together with his squire and valet.

It is, perhaps, needless to add that Richard did not appear at Atherstone; but expectation was turned towards the Scotch [1]Border, where it was thought he would enter England, shielded by the great Scottish army that was known to be preparing under the guidance of the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas. On the [2]23rd of May, Henry sent orders to the Sheriffs of seven northern counties to get ready their forces to resist the expected invasion, intending, if necessary, himself soon to be amongst them, and to take his place at their head.

But the most dangerous, though in many ways the most indiscreet, of the favourers of the movement were the members of the Franciscan and Dominican Brotherhoods, known by their dress to the common people as the Grey and Black Friars. [3]Richard had extended special protection to these orders, and many of the members may have been led seriously to believe that he was yet alive. They travelled up and down the country, [4]"with scrippe and tipped staff ytucked hie," "groping the conscience" and living on the charity of the public, while they supplemented the "masse peny," and the proceeds arising from the sale of absolution, and the consolations of religion, by a little traffic in pins, knives, trinkets, and other pedlar's ware.

In the learned retirement of Oxford, the ideal Franciscan life, [5]"whose spirit hath its fostering in the Bible," is not without its picturesque and romantic fascination; but the mass of the Friars

[1] RYM., viii, 261. [2] *Ibid*, viii, 257. [3] *Ibid*, vii, dated February 13th, 1385, confirmed by Henry, April 15th, 1401 (PAT., 2 H. IV., 3, 17), in MONAST., vi, 1508. Also see grants to monasteries of Bermondsey, Oxford, and Cambridge, confirmed by Henry, October 23rd, 1399, in PELLS ISSUE ROLL, MICH., 1 H. IV.; PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 21, November 4th, 1399; *Ibid*, m. 23. [4] CHAUCER, "Sompnour's Tale," 7319. [5] See Dr. BREWER'S Pref. to "MONUM. FRANCISC."

who travelled the country were [1]uneducated and ignorant men, and in this they strictly followed the rule of their great founder; others could repeat lines from "The Prophecy," an [2]"incoherent collection of absurdities," in "drafty" rhyming Latin doggerel after the fashion of Merlin, then [3]much in vogue, and attributed to Prior John of Bridlington, a saint lately dead, and held in high esteem in the North of England. His body had been buried for a time at [4]Beverley, where special privileges were granted to the burgesses. The remains were translated to Rome, on [5]May 11th, 1404, by the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of Durham and Carlisle, in presence of an immense concourse of people; and, as might be expected, miracles were abundant. "The Prophecy" was written just before the death of the Black Prince, and its [6]predictions had turned out hopelessly wrong. But this did not kill its reputation; rather, it opened a wide field for the [7]ingenuity of the preachers, and the [8]credulity of the listeners only increased with the obscurity of the text.

In "The Prophecy" the Friars found it written that Richard should return and make war upon Henry. They traded on the public discontent. [9]Two and two, they tramped the

[1] "Parum literati."—EULOG., iii, 391. "Simpilly letrid," "lewde men and not understanding."—CHRON. R. II-H. VI., 24. [2] ARCHÆOL., xx, 251. [3] FROIS., iv, 119. [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 4 (October 4th, 1399), grants privileges "in honour of the glorious and blessed confessor, whose body lies buried in the Church of Beverley"; repeated May 24th, 1403 (PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 25). [5] ANN., 388. [6] See the text, in POL. SONGS, i, 123-215. [7] "Juxta imaginationem suam."—EULOG., iii, 391. [8] "Tamen hominum credulorum tanta est insania ut quæ non intelligant quovis sacramento vera esse contendere non dubitent."—POWELL, "Notes to Giraldus Cambrensis," II., 8, quoted in ARCHÆOL., xx, 256. [9] See the poem by a Friar, who had turned Wycliffite, circ. 1385, in MONUM. FRANCISC., pp. 591-608:—

"Alas that euer it should be so
Such clarkes as thai about should go
Fro town to town by two and two, to seke their sustynaunce.
For thai have noght to live by, thai wandren here and there,
And dele with dyvers marche right as thai pedlers were.
Thai dele with purses, pynnes and knives,
With gyrdles, gloues for wenches and wyves.

country together, while [1]a "sturdy harlot," or serving-man, followed them with a "sakke," to gather the wheat, the meal, the malt, the rye, the "trippe of chese," the blanket, the brawn, the bacon, or the beef, begged from the homesteads on their route. They showed forth their relics, their "cloutes," and their bones; and their capacious [2]cowls were stuffed with a little stock of purses, gloves, "mitaines," girdles, and knives. With these they wheedled their way to the hearts of the women, while in the [3]taverns and places of public resort, their music,

Al that for women is plesand ful redy certes have thai,
Bot lytel gife thai the husband that for al shall pay,
For had a man slayn al his kynne,
Go shryve him at a frere,
And for lesse than a payr of shone
He wyl assoil him clene and sone."

The writer says of himself:—

"I was a frere ful many a day,
Therfor the sothe I wate;
But when I saw that thair lyvyng
Accorded not with thair preching
Of I cast my frere clothing, and
Wycholy went my gate."

[1] CHAUCER, "Sompnour's Tale," 7336. Cf. the Pardoner, who says, in his sermon against covetousness (12377):—

"I wol preche and beg in sondry londes,
I wol not do no labour with min hondes.
Ne make baskettes for to live therby,
Because I wol not beggen idelly.
I wol non of the apostles contrefete:
I wol have money, wolle, chese, and whete.
Al were it yeven of the pourest page,
Or of the pourest widewe in a village;
Al shulde hire children sterven for famine,
Nay I wol drinke the licour of the vine,
And have a joly wenche in every toun."

[2] "His typet was ay farsed ful of knyfes
And pynnes for to yive faire wyfes."—CHAUCER, Prol. 233.

[3] "He knew the tavernes wel in every toun,
And everych hostiller and tappestere."—*Ibid*, 240.

Cf. the Clerk Absolon (in "The Miller's Tale," 3331), who could

Playen songes on a smal ribible,
Thereto he song sometime a loud quinible,
And as wel coude he play on a giterne,
In al the towne was brewhous ne taverne
That he ne visited with his solas
There as that any gaillard tapstere was.

their [1]physicking both for man and beast, their easy morality, and their general good-fellowship, assured them a ready welcome from the men. They joined in every gossip, and mixed in every throng, so that it was [2]said that :—

"A flie, and eke a frere,
Wol fall in every dish, and eke matere."

Thus, if they would, they could excite and exasperate the people to the verge of rebellion.

Early in [3]1402, a Franciscan Friar, from Norfolk, was found declaring that Richard was still alive. He was taken and imprisoned, but afterwards handed over to the Warden of his Order for punishment. Considerable sums of money were paid every year through the King's Exchequer to the houses of the begging Friars, in the form of bequests or endowment. These payments might be abruptly stopped, if the King should take offence. To obviate this difficulty, several of the brethren obtained letters of dispensation from the General Master of their Order abroad, absolving them for the time from obedience to their local superiors. By this means it was hoped that the heads of houses might still receive their endowments, as loyal and peaceful subjects, while the insubordinate members wandered over the country, preaching resistance and sedition. But Henry was too thorough to allow of such an obvious evasion. On [4]the 11th of May, he issued a peremptory order to the Prior of the Dominicans at Oxford, refusing altogether to recognize such a prevarication, and threatening him not only with confiscation of grants, but also with mutilation and imprisonment, if he did not at once reduce his unruly subordinates to submission.

In the spring, all Europe was alarmed by the appearance of a comet. It was first seen in the beginning of [5]February, and

[1] Pardoner's Tale, 12286. [2] CHAUCER, "Wif of Bath," Prol. 6417. [3] EULOG., iii, 389. [4] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 18. [5] EVES., 177; CHRON. GILES (26) says October.

appeared at intervals [1]till Easter, its tail streaming West, and [2]afterwards to the North. Each country read in the awful visitor a message for itself, written in characters of blood. To England, it foreboded disaster in Scotland and Wales. In Scotland, it was taken to foretell the [3]death of the Duke of Rothsay, which happened on March 27th, 1402. In France, it appeared when violent ill-feeling was working between the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, and was [4]appropriated accordingly by the astrologers of that country, to suit their special case. Adam of Usk saw the comet, in the daytime as well as at night, as he travelled from London to Rome. In [5]Italy, it was taken to have foreshadowed the approaching death of the Duke of Milan, [6]"the scourge of Lumbardie," who was carried off by the plague on the [7]3rd of September, and when the dreaded Duke was dead, the Italian imagination confidently declared that they had seen it assume the form of a serpent swallowing a naked man, which Galeazzo had adopted for his badge.

About [8]Whitsuntide (*i.e.*, in the beginning of May), a priest was captured at Ware, and on being questioned he admitted the existence of a conspiracy to kill Henry and to restore Richard to the throne. He gave up the names of many who were privy to the plot, but afterwards admitted that several of the names so given up were only of those who were *expected* to join. Many of the [9]suspected persons, including some ladies of high position, were imprisoned, and the priest who gave the information was hanged. On [10]May 9th, orders were issued to

[1] "Whiche endured v wokes."—CHRON. LOND., 87. Palm Sunday fell on March 19th.—USK, 196. [2] "With a hie bem whech hem bowed into the North."—CAPGR., 278.

[3] "Dat stern appearand signifyis
As clerkis fyndis in gret Tretys
Dede of Princis or Pestylens."—WYNTOWN, ix, xxii, 77.

[4] JUV., 420. [5] USK, 73. [6] CHAUCER, Monk's Tale;—of "Barnabo Viscount," 14710. [7] SISMONDI, 197. [8] ANN., 339. [9] USK, 82. [10] RYM., viii, 255; PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 18.

the King's officers in the diocese of Carlisle to arrest all persons, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, who publicly asserted that Richard was alive.

A little after this, one Walter of Baldock was arrested. He had been a member of the Order of Austin Canons, at Dunstable, but [1]had left the monastery to seek preferment at the Court of Richard. After a hard struggle against adverse fortune he had been made Prior of the Austin Canons, at Launde, in Leicestershire, but had been subsequently deprived for misgovernment, and was now living as a Papal Chaplain, a [2]position which could be purchased for a fixed sum of money paid to the Pope, and the holder of which, being an unbeneficed ecclesiastic, was [3]exempt from the control of his ordinary, and responsible to the Pope alone. It was not proved that the ex-Prior had committed any overt act of treason, but, having confessed that he was privy to some plot, he was hanged at Tyburn for having failed to divulge it.

A lay [3]brother of the Franciscans at Aylesbury gave information against a Friar, a member of the same Order. The [4]informer was afterwards captured by a Welshman, who put him to death. The suspected Friar was arrested and brought before the King in person, who examined him as to what he had said. The accused admitted that he was glad when he heard that Richard was alive, for he and all his relatives were specially bound by obligations to him, but denied that he had made use of his licence as a preacher to stir the people against the reigning King. "What would you do," said Henry, "if Richard did come forward again?"

"I would fight for him," said the Friar bravely, "though I had nothing but a stick in my hand."

[1] "Relicto claustro."—WALS., ii, 249. [2] *Ibid*, ii, 157. USK (73) obtained it in 1402, after examination at Rome. [3] See the bull of Boniface IX. (dated December 22nd, 1402), published in ANN., 351-360, in which this exemption is revoked. USK (74) was present at the promulgation of this bull. [3] EULOG., iii, 390. [4] *Ibid*, iii, 394.

"And what would you have done with me?"

"I would have you Duke of Lancaster."

"You are not my friend," said Henry, "and [1]by my head, your head shall fall!" He was as good as his word, for the Friar was taken before a jury at Westminster, whence he was dragged to Tyburn, and hanged in his frock. His head was afterwards cut off, and fastened upon London Bridge.

On the [2]27th of May, the Prior of the Dominicans at Winchester, and Stephen Lene, parson of Horsemonden, in Kent, were arrested and brought before the Council, together with four Franciscan Friars, named John Ayworth, Walter Walton, John Howton, and Henry Forester. At [3]Cambridge, John Norwyche, Prior of the Dominican Convent, was arrested, together with one of his subordinates, Friar John Lakynhethe. Both were sent to London, and committed to the Tower, on the 3rd of June, and on the [4]same day directions were given to arrest John Gounfrey, Warden of the Grey Friars at Nottingham, Friar John Leicestre, of Stamford, and a Monk of St. Alban's, then reported to be at Leicester for no good purpose.

At [5]Leicester, eleven Franciscan Friars had arranged to join the muster to meet Richard on the coming Midsummer Day. Five hundred men were to meet in the meadows outside of Oxford, and advance, they did not quite know where—perhaps to Wales, perhaps to Scotland. But one of the eleven gave a hint of the plan. Eight of the Friars were caught, and two ran away. Of these eight, five were from Leicester, viz.: Roger Frisby, John Mody, Robert Bekley, Richard Grantham, and William Lake; two from Northampton, viz.: Robert Eton and Roger Nugent; and one, named Roger Leycestre, was from Nottingham. The captives were bound and taken to London.

[1] "By myn heed," says SATURN, in CHAUCER, "Knight's Tale," 1812. [2] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 16. The order for arrest is in PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 18, dated May 21st. 1402. [3] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 15. [4] PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 18. [5] EULOG., iii, 391.

They were sent to the Tower on the [1]1st of June, and the King, after consulting the Archbishop and the Council, had the accused brought before him. One of them, [2]Roger Frisby, Warden of the Convent at Leicester, and a Master of Divinity, was questioned sharply by the King, but his defiant attitude and answers did not improve his chance of pardon. "You never loved the church," said the Friar. "You damaged it before you were King, and now you would destroy it." "You lie!" said the King, "begone!"—upon which all were removed to the Tower. Thence they were taken in chains to Westminster, and charged with preaching that Richard was alive, with stirring up the people both openly and in private confession, and with [3]collecting money to send to Owen and the rebels in Wales. Being urged to plead guilty and throw themselves on the King's mercy, they all refused, and claimed a public trial. Two attempts were made to convict them before juries from London and from Holbourn, but both attempts ended in failure. A jury was then taken from the villages of Islington ("Iseldun") and Highgate; a conviction was procured, and the eight Friars were hanged forthwith at Tyburn. Their heads were then struck off, and their bodies thrown into a ditch by the roadside, whence they were reverently removed by some of their brethren for burial, to whom many members of the jury afterwards came, asking pardon, and urging that in giving their consent to the verdict they had acted under compulsion, and that if they had not so done they would themselves have been put to death.

The two Friars who had escaped at Leicester were caught by some of the servants of the Prince of Wales, near Lichfield, and shared the same fate at [4]Lancaster. A few isolated executions followed, at Bristol and other places, but the people

[1] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 16. [2] MONAST., vi, 1513; NICHOLLS' Leicestershire, iii, 260, 305. [3] USK, 82; LEL. COLL., ii, 311. [4] CHRON. GILES, 28.

were cowed and the Friars were crushed. Richard did not appear on Midsummer Day, and on the following [1]August 15th, at a General Chapter of the Grey Friars held at Leicester, the Order itself decreed that henceforward no Friar should utter a word which might sound to the prejudice of the King, under pain of perpetual imprisonment. Indeed, so contemptible had the agitation soon become, that when an old Friar was accused by a woman at Cambridge of having uttered some treasonable words, the Court decided that the question had better be settled by combat between accuser and accused; the woman to have the use of both her hands, the [1]old man to have one of his tied behind his back. The Friar, however, had a friend in the Archbishop of Canterbury, who interposed to protect him from this ridiculous indignity, and [2]within two years the great Franciscan Order was distracted by internal dissensions, and both sides were glad to appeal to Henry for support.

During the summer of 1402, fearful thunderstorms broke over the country. On [3]May 25th (being the feast of Corpus Christi), at Danbury, in Essex, while the people were worshipping at vespers, the lightning struck the top of the church, and destroyed half the chancel. While the storm was at its height, and the congregation were in wild alarm, the Devil was seen to enter the church, dressed as a Franciscan Friar, capering with mad antics, "and [4]plaieing his part like a Divell indeed." Three times he jumped over the altar from right to left, then turned black in the face, and rushed out between a man's legs, leaving the usual unpleasant smell of sulphur. There was no doubt about it, for the poor man's feet, legs, and thighs were as [5]black as pitch afterwards.

[1] "And his on hand bounde behynde him."—CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., p. 23. [2] EULOG., iii, 403-405. [3] ANN., 340. [4] HOLINS., ii, 520. [5] For a similar effect, see the account of the great storm at Alvanley, Cheshire, on June 19th, 1687. "Some people that were out of doors were ill beaten and bruised ere they could get to shelter themselves, that to our knowledge their flesh was as black as pots and scarce able to go."—PAL. NOTE BOOK, July, 1883.

A similar dreadful occurrence took place at All Saints Church, in Hertford, on the 24th of June; but this time the evil spirit climbed a ladder to the clock tower, fastened on the "crok," tore and twisted the left side of the scale plate, leaving marks like the teeth of a lion or a bear, smashed the wheels and crashed through a big beam into the belfry, symbolizing, let us suppose, the sudden spirit of mischief that had possessed the begging Friars,—swift, startling, and reckless, but more in noise than harm.

On the [1]16th of June, Henry was at the manor of Kennington, or Kempton, [2]near Sunbury, on the upper Thames; and on the [3]18th, he was able to issue a re-assuring order to the Sheriffs of counties, announcing that the danger from the preachers was at an end, and that none need fear revengeful or vindictive proceedings for acts committed in connection therewith in the past, [4]as it was not his intention to punish any but the leaders. An [5]informer, William Taillour, of Lapworth, near Birmingham, who had accused "many Abbots, Priors, Knights, Esquires, and other good men of divers estates," was put on his trial, and being convicted of perjury he was drawn and hanged. So the commotion settled down, and was soon lost sight of amidst the stirring events which followed close upon it.

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 491. [2] PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 15. [3] RYM., viii, 262.
[4] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, July 3rd, 1402. [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 511.

CHAPTER XVII.

"REVOLTED MORTIMER."

AND now came grievous news from Wales. Encouraged by his success against Ruthin in the winter, and by his absolute security and immunity from attack in his own valley, Owen had [1]continued his plundering expeditions through the spring, extending his operations always further to the south and east. By midsummer, these repeated attacks were growing more and more formidable, and a large English force was prepared in Herefordshire, to enter Wales and punish the marauders. The troops assembled at [2]Ludlow, and were placed under the command of Sir Edmund Mortimer, a younger brother of that Earl of March who had been named by Richard heir to the English throne, and uncle of the young Edmund Mortimer, the present Earl of March, now a minor, living, closely guarded, together with King Henry's children, at [3]Berkhampstead.

Sir Edmund Mortimer was yet a young man, certainly less than thirty years of age. In the late negociations, he had been chosen as the channel through which communications should pass between Owen and the Earl of Northumberland, and his lands in the neighbourhood of Denbigh had been ostentatiously spared by the rebels, though they lay temptingly near to the valley of the Dee. Under him there was now collected at Ludlow a large force, formed partly of English from Hereford and other border counties, and partly of his own tenants from the neighbouring hill districts of Radnor and Montgomery.

In the middle of June, 1402, this large force advanced up the

[1] "Assuetis intendens irruptionibus." — ANN., 341. [2] EVES., 178. [3] RYM., viii, 268.

valley of the Teme, confident that they would meet no opposition, but would punish the Welsh for their depredations, and read them such a lesson as would bring security to their own lands for some time to come. On St. Alban's Day (June 17th), they were in the mountains between Knighton and Machynlleth, at a spot called [1]"Pylale," or Pilleth, long noted as the home of a wondrous statue of the Virgin, near a hill called [2]Brynglas, lying to the north of the town of Knighton. Here they were surprised by a strong force of Welsh under [3]Rees Gethin, one of Owen's lieutenants. Many of Mortimer's tenants joined openly with the Welsh, and turned their arms against their English companions. In the panic and crush [4]more than 1,100 were shot, stabbed, stoned, or trampled to death in the narrow valley, and if the stories which reached England were true, the Welsh, even the women, vented their rage by mutilating the bodies of the dead with [5]filthy and disgusting barbarities. Many Knights, with their Esquires and Pages, were killed or taken, and Edmund Mortimer gave himself up as a prisoner. He was removed to the mountains of Caernarvon, where he was treated by Owen with all honour and respect. We are not surprised to hear that the disaster was soon attributed to treachery, and that Mortimer was believed to have led these English troops to destruction in order that he might the better carry out his own designs.

[1] CHRON. GILES, 27; STOW, 328; SANDFORD, 227; CARTE, ii, 654. [2] MONAST., vi, 354, quoting EX VET. COD. MS. PENES DAN. BRUSE, 59 *a*. "Super montem vocatum Brynglase infra Melenyth juxta Knighton." [3] ORIG. LET., II., i, 14. [4] USK says 8,000, including, apparently, the Welsh killed; but again we must notice that he only gives his information from a distance. The Monk of Evesham (177), who was nearer to the scene of action, puts down the English loss at 200; CHRON. GILES (27) at 400. [5] "Many othir inconvenientis did thei that time."—CAPGR., 279.

> "Upon whose dead corpse there was such misuse,
> Such beastly, shameless transformation,
> By those Welsh women done, as may not be
> Without much shame retold or spoken of."
>
> H. IV., Pt. 1, Act 1, Sc. 1, 42.

News of the reverse was carried in all haste to England. Henry was at Berkhampstead, having just completed the arrangements for the departure of his daughter Blanche for Germany. The loss of so many English knights and gentlemen increased the [1]bitterness of the blow. Orders were at once [2]despatched to the Sheriffs of 21 counties, to array and forward all their available forces to meet the King at Lichfield, by July 7th. The northern counties were to be ready to act against the Scots, and those in the South to repel attacks on the coast. On the 30th of June, the King was at [3]Harborough, in Leicestershire, having with him, seemingly, his youngest son, Prince Humphrey. The Prince of Wales had already gone forward to [4]Tutbury, in Staffordshire, and his other two children, John and Philippa, together with the little Edmund, Earl of March, and his brother, were left at [5]Berkhampstead, under the care of the trusty Sir Hugh Waterton.

At Harborough, disquieting news came in from the North, to the effect that an army of 12,000 Scots had crossed the Border, and were ravaging the country in the neighbourhood of Carlisle. The stock process of borrowing money in small amounts, from all quarters, gives again the old familiar evidence of the scarcity of funds for anything beyond the most ordinary expenses of the country. Amongst others, the venerable Bishop [6]of Winchester (William of Wickham) again advanced £400, as a loan till Christmas, holding certain jewels in pledge for repayment. To add to the difficulty, news was brought at the same time that, [7]in spite of arrangements which were still continuing at Lenlingham for the peaceful settlement of all matters in dispute, the French were, in fact, preparing to effect

[1] "Dont nous avous pris graunde poisauntee."—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 185. [2] RYM., viii, 264. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 187 [4] RYM., viii, 259, May 26th, 1402. [5] *Ibid*, viii, 268. [6] *Ibid*, viii, 267. [7] See memorandum (in RYM., viii, 274, dated August 14th, 1402) arranging for verification by ensuing Michaelmas, September 29th.

[1]a landing on the coast of Suffolk and Devonshire. Notice was issued to the Bishops of Norwich and Exeter, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, to have their tenants forewarned in time to repel the expected attack, while arrangements were made for fortifying [2]East Tilbury, thus securing the navigation at the entrance of the Thames. Letters from Ireland likewise showed that the English power in that country was almost *in extremis*, and that [3]Prince Thomas, the King's Lieutenant, had scarcely a supporter outside of his own very straightened household.

By the end of June, it is probable that the King had sufficiently gauged the meaning of the late defeat in Wales, and being pressed on all sides by the gravity of the tidings daily coming in, he foresaw that a greater effort must be made against the Welsh than was possible on so short a notice as at first intended. On the [4]23rd of July, he was at Lilleshall, near Newport, in Shropshire, concerting measures for the safety of the frontier. It was arranged that Leominster should be fortified. Provisions were to be stored in the castles of Hereford, Ludlow, and Chester, by the end of August, [5]and no arms or provisions were to be allowed to pass into Wales, without express permission, on pain of forfeiting twice the value of them if detected. It is not surprising to find that this mild order was to a large extent inoperative. From Wigmore southwards, as far as Chepstow, the defence of the frontier was committed to the Earl of Stafford. The northern line, from Wigmore to Holt, in Denbighshire, was put under the Earl of Arundel, supported by the levies of the county of Stafford. Separate arrangements were made for the defence of the castles of Welshpool, Ludlow, and Montgomery, while Richard, Lord de Grey, was to attack the rebels in Brecon, Caermarthen, Pembroke, Haverford,

[1] RYM., viii, 270, July 14th, 1402. [2] *Ibid*, viii, 271, July 7th, 1402; PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 7. [3] ROY. LET., i, 76. [4] ROT. VIAG., 26-27. [5] PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 4, August 17th, 1402.

Ross, and St. David's. The King then returned to Lichfield, July 26th. On the 29th, he was at Burton-on-Trent, and he reached Tideswell, in North Derbyshire, on the 1st of August.

The Welsh were sheltered in their mountains, woods, and caves, and could not be reached effectually by small bands of English, hastily collected and imperfectly equipped. After making arrangements for the security of the country against the French and Scots, [1]fresh orders were issued to the Sheriffs, that three armies should collect and be ready to start on August 27th, at three different centres, for a simultaneous entrance into Wales. One army was to assemble at Hereford, under the command of the Earls of [2]Arundel, Stafford, and Warwick; a second at Shrewsbury, under the King in person; while a third would start from Chester, under the command of the Prince of Wales. The three armies were to be provisioned for fifteen days, the object being, apparently, to enter the country simultaneously, and to strike as much terror as possible by a fortnight's rapid and ruinous raiding.

Scarcely had this order been issued when fresh news arrived that the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas were expected to invade the North, with a large army of Scots. The King was then at Ravensdale, near Grimsby. The [3]forces intended to act against the Welsh had to be again reduced, and the gathering day at Shrewsbury was postponed till the 1st of September. By the 7th of August the King was again at Tideswell, where the royal officers were busy appointing [4]purveyors. The month of August was spent in preparations. On the 15th, the King was at Nottingham, and on the 26th at Lichfield.

In the beginning of [5]September, the three armies at last

[1] RYM., viii, 271, July 31st, 1402. [2] ANN., 343. [3] RYM., viii, 273, dated Ravensdale, April 4th, 1402; ROT. VIAG., 26. [4] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 1. [5] EVES. (179) says, August 29th.

entered Wales. They are [1]said to have numbered in all more than 100,000 men, which may not be far short of the truth. The scheme was ambitious, but far beyond the strategy or the limited resources of those early days, even under favourable conditions of weather. But this year had proved exceptionally stormy, and from the time at which the English entered Wales the rain, hail, and tempest never ceased. The three armies did nothing in concert, but were beaten and driven back by the weather.

[2]A few days after they entered the country, the King had a narrow escape. His tent was blown down by a hurricane of wind in the night, and [3]had he not lain down in his armour he might have been badly hurt. Many [4]perished from the exposure and the cold.

Among the many marvellous stories that got abroad of Owen, was one to the effect that he was possessed of a [5]magical stone, once spat up by a raven, and that by this means he could render himself invisible at will. Wherever the English went, no enemy was to be seen. [6]One William Withiford had offered his services to the invaders, as a guide; but he could do nothing to bring them nearer to their enemy, and it is not surprising to find that as soon as the army had withdrawn, Withiford lost both his property and his life, and that his widow had to throw herself upon Henry's charity.

Before twenty days had passed the supplies were consumed, and the armies returned, with no nobler trophies than some herds of inoffensive and abandoned cattle, which they had been able to drive off from the mountain sides. It was arranged that Richard, Lord de Grey, should be the King's Lieutenant in the districts of Brecon, Aberystwith, Cardigan, Caermarthen,

[1] USK, 76. [2] September 7th.—ANN., 343. [3] "And the King had not be armed, he might be ded of the strok."—CAPGR., 279. [4] EULOG., iii, 394. [5] Ross, 206. [6] PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 9, October 20th, 1402.

Builth, and Hay, from September 30th till Christmas, attended [1]by a force of 150 men-at-arms and 600 archers. By the 22nd of September, the King was again at Westminster, [2]"sent bootless home and weather-beaten back." But his signal failure in Wales was more than compensated by the cheering news that awaited him from the Border of Scotland.

On the [3]26th of September, he was at his castle at Berkhampstead, with his two children Philippa and John.

[1] PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 1. [2] H. IV., Pt. 1, Act 3, Sc. 1. [3] PAT. 3 H. IV., 2, 1, 10.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BATTLE OF HUMBLEDON.

ALREADY we have noticed that the influence of the Duke of Rothsay in Scottish affairs had disappeared. His power as Regent was transferred to a Council. In February, 1402, he was seized while on his way to occupy the castle of St. Andrews, and fell into the hands of his enemies, who shut him up in the castle of Falkland, in Fifeshire, where he soon after [1]sickened and died (March 27th). His body was removed to the Abbey of Lindores, on the south shore of the Firth of Tay, and there buried. The King, his father, [2]founded a chaplaincy at Dundee for his soul, and masses were said for him daily for many years, at Deer, Culross, and Ayr. The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland bear undeniable evidence of his violence and recklessness. In Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dundee, the [3]collectors of Customs record that he had taken the public money from them by force, and in [4]Montrose he carried off the Customer, John Tyndale, and kept him imprisoned till he gave up £23 from the town dues. But his countrymen forgot his extravagance and licentiousness, remembering only his [5]handsome face and winning manners, and long after his early death his [6]memory was held

[1] "Providentia et non aliter," says the proclamation of May 20th. [2] EXCH. ROLLS SCOT., iii, 626. 40s. 4d. was charged on the Customs of Perth to help to pay expenses of his burial.—*Ibid*, 549. [3] *Ibid*, pp. 546, 552, 599. [4] *Ibid*, 549.

[5] "Suete and wertuous, yong and fair,
Honest, habil, and avenaund,
Oure Lord, oure Prynce in all plesand,
Cunnand into Letteratur,
A seymly persone in stature."—WYNTOWN, ix, xxiii, 12.

[6] See the curious account in the BUIK OF THE CHRONICLIS OF SCOTLAND, 58,378, &c.:—

"When I wes young within youthheid ane page
I saw ane woman of grit eild and age,

in pious respect. But the story of his frightful death, and of the heroic efforts of the [1]women, "after the manner of the Roman charity," is nothing but romance, and first appears in a chronicle written three generations afterwards, [2]by a writer who bore no love to the memory of the Duke of Albany.

Accusations were soon brought by his friends against Robert, Duke of Albany, Earl of Menteith, brother to the King, and Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Lord of Galloway, the King's son-in-law. At a Great Council held in Edinburgh, May 16th, 1402, they appeared to answer the accusation of having arrested and imprisoned the heir to the throne. They did not deny the charges made, bnt pleaded that they were justified in what they had done by sufficient reasons of State policy. They were too influential to be gainsaid. Their plea was regarded as valid, and on the 20th of May a [3]proclamation was issued in the King's name, declaring them innocent of the charge of treason and forbidding any person to utter anything against them. In point of fact, they had never been in any danger, and had now formally secured the leading places in the government of the country.

Already it was known in England that they were preparing to invade, and that they were industriously spreading disaffection in favour of the pretended Richard. [4]On the 23rd of May, Henry sent notice to the Sheriffs of the northern counties, to collect the forces of their districts to meet him in the North, and advance to resist the expected invasion. In [5]June, 12,000 Scots entered Cumberland and committed some depredations

> "That said scho this ilk young Duke had kend,
> And with my eiris hard her him commend,
> Of gentres vertu and of hie prudence,
> Into his tyme aboue all uthen prence."

[1] Scott, Hist. Scot., i, 236. [2] See the Chronicle of Pluscardine Abbey, Elgin (x, 17), written by Maurice Buchanan, Treasurer to the Dauphiness, daughter of James I. [3] Acts of Parl. of Scot., i, 221. [4] Rym., viii, 257. [5] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 187.

in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, but they were attacked by the Bishop of Carlisle, acting in the name of a [1]young grandson of the Earl of Northumberland, and many of them were taken prisoners.

The real invasion, however, was to be directed from the East. The Earl of March, with his sons, was in the neighbourhood of Berwick, in command of a small force of troops. By an ordinance [2]dated March 13th, 1402, he was to receive £400 per annum, and to serve *in his own country* or elsewhere, with 12 men-at-arms and 20 archers. On the 22nd of June, at the head of 200 men, [3]partly drawn from the garrison at Berwick, he engaged a force of 400 Scots, at Nesbit, in the rich plain called the Merse, or March, in Berwickshire, and gained a brilliant success. Two hundred and forty Scots were killed or taken prisoners. Their leader, Sir Patrick Hepburn, of Hales, was among the killed, and the prisoners included many Lothian Knights; among them, Sir John Haliburton, of Dirletown, Sir Robert Lawder, of the Bass, Sir John Cockburn, and Sir Thomas Haliburton. News of this success was brought to Henry, at Harborough, on June 30th, when he was on his way to the muster at Lichfield, preparatory to making his inroad into Wales. He was further warned that a strong body of Scots would attempt an incursion into Northumberland, and he sent orders to the Council to prepare to meet the emergency. This altered state of things decided him to postpone his entrance into Wales, and [4]early in August he was at Ravendale, in Lincolnshire, from whence he gave the final directions for dealing with the great Scottish invasion, which was expected on or before the 15th of August.

In the time of the harvest, accordingly, a large host of Scots,

[1] A son of Thomas Percy, who had died in Spain.—ANN., 342. [2] RYM., viii, 245; PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 6. [3] SCOTICHRON., xv, ch. xiii. [4] See the proclamation (dated August 4th, 1402), in RYM., viii, 273.

[1]numbering upwards of 40,000 men, crossed the Border on the eastern side. They were headed by the Earl of Douglas and [2]Murdoch Stewart, Lord of Kinclevin and Earl of Fife, eldest son of the Duke of Albany. With them followed a brilliant array of Scottish nobles, and some thirty [3]Frenchmen of high rank were with the invading army. They marched southward without serious opposition, through Northumberland, into Durham, and [4]across the Wear. The English peasantry fled, abandoning the open country. It was estimated that more than 1,000 persons left [5]Northumberland and Cumberland. In [6]Newcastle the greatest alarm was felt; 100 armed men watched the walls every night, and armed vessels were kept ready in the Tyne, to be brought into use as necessity should require. The invaders advanced, plundering the farms and burning the crops. But nothing more serious than this was really to be feared. There was no pretence that Richard was with them, though Lord Montgomery, who had lately had the mysterious impostor in his charge, was present in the army. So the late hoax had ended in perfect failure, and in a short while the Scots turned homewards with their plunder.

But in the valley of the Till—that classic land of Border bloodshed—a large body of them, some 10,000 strong, found their way barred by an equal force of English, under the Earl of Northumberland, his son, Henry Percy, and the Scottish Earl of March, together with [7]Sir H. Fitzhugh, Sir Ralph de Ewere, and the Lord of Greystoke. Being forced to fight, the Scots occupied a position, on rising ground, at [8]Humbledon,

1 HARDYNG, cciii. 2 WYNTOWN, ix, xxiii. 3 EVES., 180; ROT. PARL., iii, 487. 4 "And intil Yngland past of Were."—WYNTOWN. 5 ROT. PARL., iii, 518. 6 RYM., viii, 282. 7 EVES., 180; RYM., viii, 278. 8 So called at the present day, and also in PARL. ROLL (iii, 487, dated October 7th, 1402, five weeks after the battle), though the chroniclers have usually spelt it "Homildoun," or "Homeldonhill" (RYM., viii, 379), or "Hemeldon juxta Wollore" (CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 4, dated September 22nd, 1402), or "Helmedon" (PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 1, dated September 25th, 1402).

an outlying hill of the Cheviots, near the little town of Wooler, on September 14th, 1402.

The English were there before them, and had chosen their ground. They were posted at Millfield, by the little rivulet called the [1]Glen. Their force was [2]computed at 12,000 lances and 7,000 archers, including a contingent of traders from [3]Newcastle-on-Tyne, who did special service after the fight. The [4]battle was fought at mid-day, and the English archers were so posted that they rained showers of missiles on their enemies, who stood helplessly exposed to their deadly aim. Seeing his troops thus broken, Earl Douglas chivalrously took his lance and roused his men-at-arms to charge the English archers. But it was unequal work. No lances, helmets, or armour could stand against the fatal and well-aimed volleys. Douglas was badly hit, and [5]lost an eye. He was taken prisoner, and all chance of retrieving the day was at an end. Everywhere the Scots broke and fled. Many were killed, or left wounded and disabled on the field. A rich net of prisoners was secured, and the whole host was scattered and pursued. Five hundred of them were drowned when attempting to cross the Tweed, pursued by the Newcastle men.

The loss on the English side was very slight. Indeed, the main body had never been brought into action. The Scots had been caught in an exposed position; the archers had assailed them from a safe shelter, and [6]within an hour the rout was complete. Amongst the killed were Sir Adam Gordon, Sir John Swinton, Sir Alexander Ramsey, of Dalhousie, Walter Sinclair, and many others. The battlefield was afterwards [7]known as "the Red Riggs," and tradition was soon busy with the usual exaggerations of the bloodshed. But the utter over-

[1] "Til Homildoune intil Glendale."—WYNTOWN, ix, 23, 120. [2] "Ut putabatur."—EVES., 180. [3] CHRON. GILES, 29. [4] ANN., 347. [5] SCOTICHRON., xv, 14. [6] "Infra spatium unius horæ."—EVES., 180. [7] WALLIS, ii, 484. Cf. the battlefields of Builth and Senlac.

throw and failure of the Scottish host was marked most plainly by the immense number of the prisoners taken alive. Eighty Scottish Knights and Barons of high rank, together with a large host of fighting men, laid down their arms and surrendered to the Percies. Amongst the prisoners were the two chiefs of the expedition. The Earl of Douglas, who had led the charge, was wounded in the face; and Murdoch, the son of the Duke of Albany, was [1]captured in the thick of the fight. Besides these, the list of prisoners included the three Earls of Moray, Angus, and Orkney, the Barons of Montgomery, Erskin, Seton, and [2]Abernethy, [3]Sir William Graham, Sir Adam Forester (a member of the Council of Regency), Sir Robert Logan (the [4]Admiral previously captured by the men of Lynn, but afterwards released), Sir David Flemyng, and a crowd of other Knights. Thirty French Knights, with their followers, had been with the Scottish army, and many of them fell prisoners to the English. Of these we can make out the names of [5]Sir Jacques Haleye, Sir Piers Hazar (or [6]Piers des Essars), Johan Dormy, and [7]Richard Courshill.

The victory was a triumph of skill and steadiness over [8]rashness and daring, and was due, it was said, to the advice of the Scottish Earl of March, who urged Henry Percy not to throw away the advantage of his position for the frenzy of a fight, or the chivalry of a charge. The archers had decided all, and the knighthood of Scotland and France were humbled and overborne.

[9]"Good, agreeable, and acceptable" news of the great victory

[1] "Il feust pris en champ come vaillant chivaler."—ROT. PARL., iii, 487. [2] The name appears variously, as: "Andreneth" (EVES., 180), "Ermesworth" (ANN., 346), "Ennerneth" (OTT., 238), "Abirnethi of Saltoun" (SCOTICHRON., 435). [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 487. [4] CAPGR., 277. [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 487. [6] JUV., 421. [7] RYM., viii, 379. [8] "Par outrecuidance plus que par sens et discretion."—JUV., 421. [9] The bearer, Nicholas Merbury, was well rewarded. He received a pension of £40 a year. See PELL ROLL, November 3rd, 1405, in TYLER, i, 169. The grant is dated September 25th, 1402, in PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 1.

was forwarded at once to Henry, who was struggling out of his wretched conflict with the elements in Wales. The prisoners were lodged in the castles of Greystoke, [1]Dunstanborough, and Roxburgh. Two of them—[2]Sir William Stewart, of Teviotdale, and Thomas Kerr, who had before professed allegiance to the English King,—were summarily tried as traitors, and hurried to execution. Their bodies were quartered, and fixed on the gates of York.

Orders were soon received from the Council at Westminster [3](dated September 22nd, 1402), that the remainder of the prisoners were not to be ransomed or liberated under any pretext whatsoever, while promises were made that none of their captors should be defrauded of his just dues whenever the ransoms were ultimately paid. These orders were to apply also to some [4]Scottish sailors, who were captured about the same time off the coast of Devon.

[1] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 4. [2] WYNTOWN, ix, 23, 137. [3] RYM., viii, 278.
[4] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 2.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Scottish Prisoners.

On Saturday, September 30th, 1402, the fourth Parliament of Henry's reign met at Westminster. It had been [1]originally intended that the members should meet on September 15th, but, owing to the alarming news from Scotland, it was decided to postpone the opening of the session till the end of the month. The sittings were continued over eight weeks (*i.e.*, up till Saturday, November 25th), and we have an unusually full [2]account of the matters and measures that came under consideration. After a formal meeting and adjournment, the King, the Lords, and Commons, met in the Painted Chamber at Westminster, on Monday, October 2nd, when a set speech was delivered by the Lord Chancellor, Edmund Stafford, Bishop of Exeter. He took for his theme the passage: "Great peace have they who love the law." Enlarging on the blessings of peace, he set forth strongly the necessity of law and obedience, and that without it war must come; how Henry had been divinely commissioned to restore peace and order; how God had just delivered his enemies, the Scots, into his hands, thus offering a rare opportunity for securing a permanent peace between England, Scotland, and France. Fifty years before, the same opportunity had offered, when the Kings of France and Scotland were prisoners in London to Edward III., but the chance had been allowed to pass, and God had since been inflicting chastisement

[1] See the original summons (dated June 19th, in Claus. 3 H. IV., 2, 8) and the postponement (dated August 14th, *Ibid*, m. 3). Pells Issue Roll, 3 H. IV., Pasc. (dated July 15th), contains payment to messengers carrying news of postponement. [2] Rot. Parl., iii, 485-521; Stat., ii, 132-143.

on the nation for its sins. Now again, also, there was presented another chance of restoring unity to the Church. The King of the Romans, the Emperor Rupert, had lately written to Henry, [1]as "the most powerful King in the world," requesting him to do his utmost to restore harmony in the Church, that there might be again "one Fold and one Shepherd," adding that he would willingly die to-morrow if he could see the schism healed. I cannot find this letter in any published collection; but in a letter dated [2]Heidelberg, July 22nd, 1402, the Emperor promises that he will shortly send representatives to inform Henry of the circumstances of his recent failure in Italy. These messengers probably brought the letter referred to above, as another letter from Rupert, dated [3]January 7th, 1403, notifies the return of the German Ambassadors to their own country, and congratulates Henry on his victory over the Scots. On all the above matters, as also on the affairs of Wales and Ireland, the King now asked advice.

The Commons then retired, and chose as their Speaker [4]Sir Henry Retford, one of the representatives for West Lincolnshire, who was proposed to the King on the following day, and accepted. The Commons then, after deliberation, made request that they might be allowed to communicate and advise with certain of the Lords on the subjects now submitted for consideration, and on Tuesday, October 10th, their request was granted, four Bishops and eight lay Lords being commisioned to confer with the Commons. Among the latter were the four Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Somerset. The King took care to explain that this was a favour specially granted for this occasion only, and was not to be claimed as a precedent for any future time.

On Monday, October 16th, as a first result of the Conference

[1] "Come a le pluis puissant Roi du monde."—ROT. PARL., iii. [2] MARTENE, i, 1701. [3] *Ibid*, i, 1704. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 160; ii, 76, 86.

with the Committee of Lords, the Commons requested that the King would show some special honour and thanks to the Earl of Northumberland, on this his first appearance in the Parliament after the recent discomfiture of the Scots. Subsequently, on November 6th, they begged that the King would restore to the Earl of Somerset, another member of the advising Committee, his forfeited title of Marquis of Dorset. But this the Earl affected to decline, as the title of Marquis was a novelty in the English peerage.

On Friday, October 20th, the Earl of Northumberland and others presented themselves before the King and the assembled Parliament, in the White Hall at Westminster, bringing with them young Murdoch Stewart, son of the Duke of Albany, and six of the principal prisoners taken at Humbledon. The Earl of Douglas was not amongst them. Three of them were Scotch, viz.: Sir William Grahame, Lord Montgomery, and Sir Adam Forester, and with them were three of the French prisoners, two of them Knights and one an Esquire. At the entrance of the hall, all dropped on their knees. Thence advancing to the middle of the room, they kneeled again. And a third time they kneeled, and remained kneeling before the King, who stood in front of the throne.

Sir Adam Forester was the spokesman, and prayed for honourable and gracious treatment for Murdoch and the other prisoners, because they had been taken by the fortunes of war, and some of them were the King's own kinsmen. To this a gracious answer was returned. Forester, still kneeling, then asked for a final and favourable treaty of peace between the two countries. But Henry answered that Forester had put him off with "white" words and promises when he was in Scotland, two years before. Had he known then what he knew now, he would not have trusted him. Forester then begged for pardon. Turning to Murdoch, Henry told him that he had nothing to

fear, as he was taken fighting like a brave soldier. All were then bidden to rise, and were afterwards entertained at the King's table in the Painted Chamber. In all this singular parade, officially reported on the Rolls of Parliament, we seem to have an imitation of the ostentatious chivalry of the generation before, towards the captive King of France, with Northumberland acting the part of the Black Prince, as captor.

Lord Montgomery was detained in the Tower until [1]December 26th, when Henry had him transferred to Windsor, knowing that he could, if he would, supply valuable information as to the identity of the *pseudo*-Richard, who had been lately under his charge. We do not know whether the Scotchman kept his secret, but he remained at Windsor till September 7th, 1403, and was then re-transferred to the Tower.

Before the Parliament closed, the Scotch [2]Earl of March prayed that he might receive consideration for his services against his countrymen. His claim received attention, and it was promised that any estates or castles formerly his, but now seized by the Scottish King, which might be taken by the English, should be restored to him as his own.

Grants of money were then made for the next three years, the Customs, [3]though "with gret grucching," being fixed at the usual high [4]rate of 50s. and 60s. per sack of wool. It was suspected that the King was accumulating a reserve of money for use against an evil day. He made a statement denying this and asserting that he had nothing laid by. It was asked, where was the money that Richard was known to have collected. The King replied that the Earl of Northumberland had had it, after his landing at Ravenspur. Upon this, the [5]Commons requested that the responsible officials should be questioned on

[1] CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 30, 35. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 517. [3] "Cum magnâ difficultate vix concessa."—EVES., 181. [4] ROT. PARL., iii, 493. [5] EULOG., iii, 395.

this point, but the request was refused. In Northumberland and Cumberland, the grant made in the previous Parliament could not be collected, owing to the destruction dealt by the Scots. On the [1]20th of November, an order was issued remitting all arrears due in these two counties, and in the borough of Newcastle-on-Tyne.

The King was then asked to use his best endeavours to heal the Schism and to restore unity in the Church, "provided that it did not cost the country anything," and after a general invitation from the Earl of Northumberland to the Lords to dine with the King, the Parliament was dissolved on Saturday, November 25th, 1402.

A large number of petitions are on the records, several of which were incorporated into statutes. Some of them are still of interest, as bearing on the then social condition of the country.

To remedy the scarcity of coin, it was [2]enacted that the third part of all the silver brought into the country should be coined into halfpence, or farthings. This is to be taken in connection with the [3]existing regulations prohibiting the export of stamped coin; and, by adding a penalty to prevent goldsmiths and others from collecting and melting down the coin, it was hoped that small money would be made permanently plentiful.

The clergy were not to hold their [4]benefices to farm, but to reside on them, and exercise hospitality.

No farm labourer, or worker in the fields, was to be allowed to become an apprentice, or learn a mystery or trade, [5]unless his parents could pay 40s. per annum, or their property *(catalla)* amounted to at least £40 in value.

The [6]four orders of Friars were forbidden to take the charge of children under fourteen years of age, without the express

[1] PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 9. [2] STAT., 4 H. IV., cap. 10. [3] *Ibid*, cap. 15.
[4] ROT. PARL., iii, 501. [5] ANN., 349. [6] STAT., cap. 17.

consent of their parents. The Commons likewise [1]petitioned that none under twenty-one years of age should be allowed to enter the orders of Friars, but this was not granted.

[2]Labourers were not to be hired by the week, nor to take wages for working on vigils or feast days. [3]Customers were to reside at the post where their duties lay. [4]Victuallers and hostlers were to be under strict regulation, and [5]each estate was to wear its own appropriate dress, and not array itself in stuffs which were suited to its betters only. *E.g.:* none below the rank of Banneret were to wear gold cloth, or "velvet motley," large hanging sleeves, long trailing gowns, or fur. The Churchmen, Esquires, Varlets, and their wives, were all to keep to their authorized costumes, on pain of forfeiting the stuff and paying a fine of £5 to the King. The preachers commonly vented their wrath against the "sinneful, costlewe array of clothing," for in those days "precious clothing" was "culpable for the [6]derthe of it, and for his softenesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising, and for the superfluitee and inordinate scantnesse of it." Violent denunciations were uttered against the "cost of enbrouding, disguising, endenting or barring, ounding, paling, winding or bending, and semblable wast of cloth in vanitee;" "the costlewe furring in hir gounes, so moche pounsoning of chesel to maken holes, so moche dagging of sheres, with the superfluitee in length trailing in the dong and the myre, so that thilke trailing is verily wasted, consumed, thredbare, and rotten with dong." The argument was that this "superfluitee" was all waste of good cloth, for it could not be given to the poor, as it was "not convenient to were for hir estate, ne suffisant to bote hir necessitee, or keep hem fro the distemperance of the firmament."

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 502. [2] STAT., cap. 14. [3] *Ibid*, cap. 20. [4] *Ibid*, cap. 25. [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 506. [6] *i.e.*, dearness. — CHAUCER, "Persone's Tale," p. 533.

It was during this [1]Parliament, or very soon after its close, that several important changes were made in the King's Council. Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, half-brother to the King, became Chancellor in place of the Bishop of Exeter, while [2]Guy de Mona, Bishop of St. David's, became Treasurer in place of Henry Bowet, Bishop of Bath and Wells. [3]Lord Lovell became Keeper of the Privy Seal, and [4]Thomas More, Treasurer of the King's Household.

Two years had not yet passed since Chatrys' death. The statute against Lollards was the law of the land. The King and the partisans of his house showed no favour to the heretics; the great ones had withdrawn their patronage, and two at least of their most eminent leaders had been won back to the sunshine of the Court.

Philip Repyndon, the friend of Wycliffe, was now the rich Abbot of Leicester, and was soon to be Bishop of Lincoln, in which capacity it was [5]boasted that "no Bishop of this land pursueth now more sharply them that hold that way than he doth." His fellow-Lollard, Master [6]Nicholas Herford, once the fierce and "profane heretic" of Oxford, was now declaiming stoutly *(viriliter)* against his old associates; "conscience alone moving him,"—but conscience backed by the favour of the King. The Lollards, "stuffed with the envy of the Devil," brought charges against him in the courts, but the King stood his friend, and their "malicious fabrications" could get no hearing; though "full many men wondereth upon him, and maketh him mickle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemy of the truth."

Few openly dared to beard the Bishops, armed with the new powers of the law. The fierce persecutor, Archbishop Arundel,

[1] EVES., 181. [2] See his appointment (dated October 25th, 1402), in PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 24. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 191, January 21st, 1403. [4] PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 25, October 22nd. [5] ENGL. GARNER, vi, 63. [6] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 26, November 22nd, 1401.

boasted [1]that "God hath called me again, and brought me into this land for to destroy the false sect; and, by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly that I shall not leave a step of you in this land." In pursuance of his Divine Mission, he spread his nets for the heretics, caught them, and lodged them in his "foul and unhonest prison" at Saltwood Castle, on the South Coast of Kent. Here they were visited by spies, who wormed themselves into their confidence, in order to be produced as witnesses against them. When the case against them was complete, they were brought before the Archbishop and three or four of his clerical subordinates, for private examination, to be coaxed, or worried, or hectored into a formal submission to Mother Church. Some were "overcome and stopped with benefices;" others, after being rated as "idiots" and "lewd losells," and other such "wondrous and convicious words," by the Archbishop, were threatened "to be disgraded, and to follow their fellow to Smithfield;" while the attendants were for burning them "by and by," or pitching them into the sea which was moaning almost up to the prison walls. Nevertheless, the fire was quick in the embers, smouldering but not quenched, and "the [2]cockle" was still springing in "the clene corn."

Sir Louis [3]Clifford had been formerly among the leading supporters of the Lollards, when it had suited the policy of the great Duke of Lancaster to lend them his countenance. In 1378, when a younger man, he had been a [4]member of the household of Joan, late Princess of Wales, the wife of Edward the Black Prince, and the mother of Richard II. In her name he had carried a haughty message to the Bishops at Lambeth, peremptorily forbidding them to dare to put in force the Bull of Pope Gregory XI., lately obtained against the arch-heretic, John Wycliffe. But times were now changed, and Wycliffe's

[1] ENGL. GARNER, vi, 109. [2] CHAUCER, Shipman's Prol. 12923. [3] ANN., 174. [4] WALS., i, 356.

then defender had now become the enemy of Wycliffe's followers.

Sir Louis [1]Clifford, having had ample means of knowing the secret working and sympathies of the Wycliffites, now laid an information before the Archbishop of Canterbury, exposing under seven heads the main teachings of the Lollards, and giving the names of the leading preachers, or propagators of their heresy. The seven heads really contain nothing new to those who remember [2]the "message" publicly posted on the doors of the Parliament House in 1395, or the charges publicly made and publicly answered in the Chapter House at St. Paul's, early in 1401. So that these secret revelations of the pestilent doctrines of the heretics are again not a little disappointing. They assert that the seven sacraments are only dead symbols, useless in their then form, and that unmarried priests and nuns are not living according to the highest law of God. That marriages made without the sanction of the Church are valid, nevertheless, and that the obstinacy of the Church was already driving more persons than was suspected to live together without any form of marriage at all. That the Church was "Satan's synagogue," the Mass, with its "gobet of bread" *(buccella panis)*, being [3]the "topstone of Antichrist." That newborn infants are not made Christian by baptism, but are at their birth innocent of sin, though they become defiled if they get into the hands of the priests. That no special day is holy, whether the Lord's Day or any other, but that every day that God has made is lawful alike for work, for eating, and for drinking. That there is no Purgatory after this life, but the only penance for sin is to repent of it and to cease from it, remembering the words spoken to the penitent [4]Magdalene:—"Thy faith hath made thee whole."

[1] ANN., 347. [2] P. 176. [3] "Pinnaculum Antichristi."—"The toure of Antichrist."—CAPGR, 280. [4] LUKE, vii, 50.

It may be presumed that suitable action was taken on this confidential information, which was considered of sufficient importance to merit a place at some length in the chronicle of the most important events of the year. [1]Proclamations were issued by the Archbishop, but there was not much fight in the broken Lollards, and no one else was burned at Chatrys' stake.

The Convocation had been originally called for [2]September 30th. It met on the 21st of October, at St. Paul's, and on Friday, the 27th, three Lollards—named John Seygno, Richard Herbert, and Emmota Wylly (a woman), all Londoners—were brought before it for examination. Herbert and Wylly straightway abjured, and went their way; but Seygno persisted in maintaining that the Jewish Sabbath should be strictly observed as ordered in the Old Testament, and that pork should not be eaten because it was unclean. Whether he thus reasoned against his accusers as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the claim on behalf of the literal binding force of the Scriptures, or whether he was "fonding" as a harmless fanatic who would join any party that was opposed to the claims of the Church, we do not know. He was handed over to the Bishop of London for imprisonment, and his case was reserved for further consideration.

The tedious struggle in Wales had brought nothing but repeated failure to the English arms. The Welsh were too wary to trust themselves to an invasion which might end in a second Humbledon, and two English noblemen of high rank were in Owen's power. Their rescue was becoming more and more impossible, and it might well be doubtful to many other landowners on the Marches, how long they should maintain their allegiance to a distant Court in London, who showed no power to protect their lands from devastation, or their persons from imprisonment.

[1] CONC., iii, 270. [2] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 2, 7, July 20th, 1402.

Lord Grey of Ruthin had been now a [1]close prisoner for eight months in the mountains, and had been pressed daily to give up his allegiance and join the rebel Welsh. In the hope of speedy deliverance by the English power, he resisted all temptations, but now that the great effort of the year had been made, and had totally failed, Lord Grey agreed to purchase his freedom by paying 10,000 marks to his captor—6,000 before St. Martin's Day (November 11th), and the remainder soon after, on pain of forfeiting his life. His eldest son was to remain a hostage in the hands of the Welsh, till the whole sum of money was paid. These terms being reported to Henry after his return to London, it was agreed, on [2]October 13th, that negociations should be begun at once, and representatives were appointed, including some of Lord Grey's relations, to consider the matter without delay. On [3]Monday, October 16th, the House of Commons petitioned in the same sense, and it is noticeable that now, for the first time, the business is to be transacted with "the aforesaid Owen [4]*and his Council.*"

Lord Grey himself was subsequently set at liberty. He appeared in the Chancery, in London, in person, to witness and put his signature to a deed, on the [5]29th of January, 1404.

[1] "En forte et dure prison en Gales tres dolorousement."—ROT. PARL., iii, 487. [2] RYM., viii, 279. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 487. [4] "Et concilio suo."—RYM., viii, 279. [5] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 13.

CHAPTER XX.

THE KING'S MARRIAGE.

BEFORE the Parliament was dismissed, plans had been at last laid for bringing over the Duchess of Brittany to England, that she might be formally married and crowned as Henry's Queen. In spite of the breakdown of the first arrangements, further orders had been issued, [1]on the 27th of August, 1402, requiring twenty large ships, from any part of the coast between London and Bristol, to be assembled with all possible speed at Southampton, in readiness to conduct the new Queen across from Brittany in the following month. But it was again found impossible to carry out the proposal, though, of course, the ships and other preparations had to be paid for. The [2]Issue Roll of the Exchequer records a payment (dated October 30th) of £255 for the hire of ships and the payment of sailors, while £766 had been already divided among the Commissioners appointed to carry out the arrangements for the passage. Messengers had been again sent out to several noble ladies, to hold themselves in readiness to meet the new Queen on her arrival. The contract signed at Eltham, on April 3rd, was a binding and solemn engagement, and already in official [3]documents Johanna is commonly referred to as Henry's "most dear Consort and Queen;" while in a paper dated December 30th, 1402, Charles III., King of Navarre, the brother of Johanna, is called by Henry "our most dear brother," though the ceremony of marriage did not take place till some six weeks later.

[1] PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 4. [2] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 4 H. IV., MICH., October 9th, 19th, and 30th, 1402. [3] RYM., viii, 280, 281, dated October 24th, November 8th, 10th, and 12th, 1402.

The Commissioners deputed to bring Johanna across the Channel were Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset (half-brothers to the King), Lord de la Zouche, and Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, who had been, with the Earl of Somerset, one of the witnesses to the marriage contract, at Eltham. From Southampton, they forwarded to the Council, in London, an urgent statement of the funds which would be required to defray the cost of the convoying party, but they received no answer. Accordingly, the [1]leaders pledged themselves personally to pay the wages of the crews, and others engaged, for fifteen days at least; and, after some murmuring and objection, the fleet, [2]having on board a large number of armed soldiers, set sail from Southampton on November 28th, 1402.

But before they could sight the shores of Brittany they were caught in a furious storm in the Channel, and though they got within view of the coast they were unable to land; and after beating about in great danger for eleven days they only saved themselves from being driven across the [3]Bay of Biscay by making for Plymouth, which they reached with some difficulty on December 9th, 1402.

Whatever had been the expectations of Johanna in arranging this marriage with the King of England, she had soon found that circumstances were too strong for her control. Her own people were divided in opinion. Many of them were fiercely jealous of the interference of France, but it is more than likely that the same section would look with equal or greater disfavour on the interference of England. On October 1st, 1402, the Duke of Burgundy, her mother's brother, came to Nantes, "at the request of Johanna," says a contemporary [4]Breton chronicle,

[1] See the claim of the Earl of Arundel for £27 8s., payment to thirty-six men, with provisions and arms, in RYM., viii, 285. [2] "Maximo armatorum numero munitam."—LOBINEAU, ii, 874, from CHRON. BRIOC. [3] "Davoir ale en le meer D'Espaigne."—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 189. [4] CHRON. BRIOC., in LOBINEAU, ii, 878.

and on the 19th of October, acting on the advice of many Breton Bishops and nobles, she gave up to him the government of Brittany, together with the custody of her three sons, John, Arthur, and [1]Giles (Egidius), the eldest boy being then thirteen years of age. With them she [2]surrendered her dowry, received under the will of her late husband, accepting in exchange a certain allowance annually for her personal expenses. The Duke of Burgundy, for his part, undertook the charge of the children, in his [3]private capacity as their near relation, promising on oath not to abuse the trust, but to let the children return to Brittany during their mother's absence, if requested by her or the Bishops or Barons.

On November 18th, an agreement was entered into between Johanna and her eldest son, John V., on the one part, and the Duke of Burgundy and his sons—John, Count of Nevers, and Anthony, Count of Rethel—on the other, for mutual assistance against all opponents except the King of France, the Dauphin, the Duke of Berri, and the King of Navarre. The Duke of Burgundy then put French garrisons in all the fortified towns of Brittany, and having thus completely [4]checkmated the English influence he left Nantes for Paris, taking with him the three children. Dressed in crimson velvet, and richly attended, they were heartily welcomed at the French Court, and ostentatiously entertained. On [5]January 7th, 1403, the boy John did homage to the French King as Duke of Brittany, and took his place as a Peer of France, in presence of a brilliant assemblage, in the Hotel of St. Paul.

No sooner had the Duke of Burgundy departed than Johanna attempted to hand over the custody of the city of Nantes to Olivier de Clisson, a leader of the Breton party, opposed to the

[1] Called "Richard," in JUV., 422. [2] MONSTR., 1, ch. v. [3] "Tanquam amicus et genere propinquus et non aliter.—LOBINEAU, ii, 878. [4] "Par ce fut fraudee la dite Duchesse de son intention."—JUV., 423. [5] RECEUIL DES TRAITEZ, i, 363.

influence of the French. But the captain of the town remained faithful to the Duke of Burgundy, and Johanna's last struggle to free herself remained absolutely without effect. On December 26th, 1402, [1]accompanied by her little girls and Marie Sante, she left Nantes on her journey to her new home.

Meantime the English squadron, having waited for a better passage, had made the voyage from Plymouth, and was waiting in the harbour of [2]Cameret, near Crozon, opposite to Brest. Here there was feasting on a colossal scale. More than 100 barrels of wine were purchased, at an average price of 76s. 8d. per barrel, and the [3]drink bill alone reached the appalling figure of [4]£384 16s., all of which was charged to the English Exchequer. Corresponding preparations had been long made to give the strangers plenty to eat and drink when they should arrive in England;—64 barrels of flour and beer being ready [5]for the Queen, "against her arrival."

In the evening of Saturday, January 13th, 1403, Johanna went on board. On the following morning they set sail for Southampton, but were carried out of their course, and after [6]five boisterous winter days and nights at sea they made the coast of Cornwall, where they landed at [7]Falmouth, on the 19th of January.

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 527. [2] Portum vulgariter nuncupatum Quamereuth Crauzon.—LOBINEAU, ii, 878. [3] Some idea of the drinking capacities of the English nation may be formed by referring to ROGERS (i, 506), where Robert Oldham, the Cuxham Bailiff, orders five gallons of Gascony in talking over his bargain for a millstone with the London dealer. [4] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 4 H. IV., MICH., March 26th, where the port is called Croudon, in Brittany. [5] *Ibid*, has an entry (dated October 2nd, 1402) for providing the empty barrels. [6] "Licet infortunia multotiens perpessi fuissent."—ANN., 350. [7] CHRON. R. II.-H. VI., p. 29, which is usually a mere translation of EULOG., inserts: "and landed at Falemouth, in Cornewaile." This is interesting, as showing the existence of the town of Falmouth at least as early as 1470, and probably long before, though it is commonly supposed to have had no existence till long afterwards. CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 19 (dated January 11th, 1401), is conclusive on this point. In it "Fowe and Falmouth" are ordered and required to furnish one balinger between them. CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 3, contains a proclamation (dated June 26th, 1404) addressed to the Bailiffs of the town of Falmouth *(ville de Ffalmuth)*.

The King was at Windsor, whence he moved to Winchester to meet his long-expected bride, accompanied by a brilliant [1]throng of nobles and their ladies. He was at [2]Reading Abbey on the 15th of January, where he took up a large consignment of rich cloth of gold as a [3]present for Johanna, for which the country had to pay £200.

On February 7th, the marriage was celebrated, with great pomp, in the old Minster of St. Swithin's, at Winchester, by the Chancellor, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln; the aged Bishop, William of Wickham, being too infirm to be present. The expenses for the marriage-day at Winchester are put down at £433 6s. 8d. [4]Besides this, the Prior of Winchester obligingly lent 200 marks, which had afterwards to be paid from the Exchequer. The young Princes, John and Humphrey, had handsomely ordered a pair of tablets from a London goldsmith, at a cost of £79, as a present for their new mother. The King's marriage-gift was a collar, purchased from a London jeweller for 500 marks (£433 6s. 8d.) [5]All these items were, in due course, charged to the country.

Henry and his wife afterwards proceeded to the capital. They were met at Blackheath, with [6]great ceremony, by the citizens, and passed by Cheapside to Westminster, where Johanna was solemnly crowned in the Abbey as Queen of England. After the coronation came the "bake metes and dishe metes, brenning of wilde fire and peinted and castelled with paper and semblable wast," and "outrageous appareilling." [7]Jousts were held, where the young Earl of Warwick was champion for the Queen, and behaved himself "notably and knyghtly."

[1]Tota pene regni nobilitas procerum et dominarum.—ANN., 350. [2]PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 6. [3]PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 5 H. IV., MICH., February 19th, 1404. [4]*Ibid.* [5]*Ibid*, 4 H. IV., MICH., February 19th; *Ibid*, PASC., July 20th, September 4th. [6]See extracts from the books of the Grocers' Company, in HERBERT, i, 91, and cf. CHAUCER, Persone's Tale, pp. 536, 563. [7]See them figured in STRUTT, ii, plates x, xi; BEAUCHAMP MSS., temp. Ed. IV.

An annuity of 10,000 marks (or £6,666) per annum was settled on the new Queen. The grant was announced on the 8th of March, but it was specially provided that it should be payable from the 8th of February, the day after the marriage; and the towns of Ipswich, Yarmouth, Bristol, Bedford, and [1]Derby, shared with others the burden and the honour of contributing to this extravagant provision. Early in the summer of 1403, a Councillor of the Duke of Burgundy, together with thirteen knights, crossed to England to transact state business with Queen Johanna.

[1] PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 4, 9, 10, 17, 21, 33; also CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 1.

CHAPTER XXI.

TIMUR.

HERE, for a moment, our thoughts must pause for a short retrospect of what had been passing in the distant East. It will be remembered that the Emperor Manuel II, had left London in January, 1401, having failed to secure the help he asked against the Turks. The Emperor did not at once return to his own country, but remained for eighteen months longer in Paris, where he continued to live with all his retinue at the French people's expense. To his nephew, John Palæologus, who remained at Constantinople, he wrote informing him that little or no help must be looked for from the West, and the Imperial City seemed to be sinking, without possibility of recovery, to its last death-gasp. Hemmed in by the Turks, it was barely able to keep resistance alive, being defended by a small and gallant band of Christians from every part of the world, among whom were reckoned a few devoted English Knights.

On [1]June 1st, 1402, John Palæologus wrote urgently to Henry that the end must now soon come. "Straightened and pressed by the infidels on every side, wasted in strength, power, and resources, the city lies prostrate, no longer able to attack its enemy or even to defend itself. Without instant help it must be lost, and the name of Christ be clean wiped out and forgotten in the East." But ere this last despairing letter could be received in England, the infidels were crushed and the city providentially relieved.

On the [2]28th of July, 1402, the Turkish armies were defeated

[1] ROT. LET., i, 101. [2] GIBBON, viii, 54, following ART DE VERIF., i, 493. SCHILTBERGER (21) and CLAVIJO (xlix) give July 20th.

by Timur, at Angora. Bajazet was captured; Broussa was plundered; Smyrna carried by storm, and all Western Asia was in the power of the Tartar conqueror.

Timur, the scourge of Asia, was a [1]descendant of the great Zengis Khan. He is [2]variously described as a Mongol, a Tartar, a Turk, or a Zagatai; under all of which names we must be content to recognize his kinship with the wild wandering tribes of Central and Eastern Asia. He was now an old man, so blind that "his eyelids had fallen down altogether," and he was rapidly drawing to the end of his wonderful and bloody career. In 1362 he had been [3]wounded in the hand and foot by the Belooches of Seistan. Hence he was known as Timur *lenc* (or "the lame"), which name appears in Western Europe in the popular forms of [4]"Tamerlane," or [5]"Tamburlant," though in official communications he is styled [6]"Themurbey," or "Timur Bey." In 1369, he had established himself in Samarcand, from whence his mighty arm could strike at China on the East and the Ottoman conquerors on the West. In the extremity of their prostration, the Christians of the East of Europe were swift to recognize a welcome ally in the infidel Timur, and already the [7]Greeks in Constantinople and the Genoese in Pera had offered to work with him against their common enemy, the Turks. The Western Christians, also, were not behindhand, and England took her part with the rest in courting the friendship of the bloodstained and savage conqueror.

An Englishman, John Greenlaw, a [8]Dominican Friar, had for some time past made himself prominent in the East by his zeal in stirring the Christian part of the population against the Turks. He had carried his life in his hand in long and distant journeys,

[1] CLAVIJO, 128. [2] *Ibid*, lii, 120, &c. [3] *Ibid*, xxiii. [4] *Ibid*, 76. [5] MONSTR., c. 16. [6] ROY. LET., i, 425. [7] CLAVIJO, 76. [8] ELLIS (ORIG. LET., III., 1, 55), quoting WADDING, calls him a Minorite, or Franciscan.

and exposed himself to great and varied dangers. In recognition of his services, he was consecrated in October, 1400, by Pope Boniface IX., with the sounding title of Archbishop of [1]Ethiopia and the East, with his See at Soldania, or Sultanieh, the principal city of Azerbijan, near the south-west corner of the Caspian Sea, on the route to Tabreez, Samarcand, and the East. The [2]city was not fortified, but commanded by a castle. It was of comparatively recent origin, having been founded by a descendant of Zengis Khan, in 1303. It rapidly rose in importance, so that it rivalled Tabreez. It was well placed on the converging lines of caravan routes from the East, and during June, July, and August, in each year, a fair was held, at which great traffic was done in silks, cotton, spices, pearls, and precious stones, from India, China, Ormuz, and the Caspian. [3]In 1318, Pope John XXII. had set up an Archbishopric of Sultanieh. The first Archbishop was a Dominican, Francis of Perugia, and his successors can be traced down to 1425. But their [4]flock consisted of a very few resident Greek Catholics, Dominicans, and renegade Armenians, supplemented by the Genoese and Venetian merchants, and other Christian traders who attended the annual fair.

Archbishop Greenlaw led a roving life in Asia Minor, and was the medium of communication between the Courts of Europe and the potentates of the East. He had already established an understanding with Timur, before the fall of Bajazet, thinking it all fair to negociate with one infidel for the ruin of another. Timur had many children. His eldest and favourite son, [5]Jehanghir, had died in 1372, at the age of twenty years, and was buried at Kesh. Besides him, we know the

[1]For the confusion between Asiatic and African Ethiopians see HOWORTH, i, 535. [2]In June, 1404, it was visited by Clavijo and his fellow ambassadors, who stayed there three days on their way to Samarcand.—CLAVIJO, pp. 92-97 [3]CATHAY, AND THE WAY THITHER.—49, note B, quoted in SCHILTBERGER, 132. [4]CLAVIJO, 84, 171. [5]*Ibid*, 123.

names of two other sons, [1]Miran Shah, and Shah Rokh (the ancestor of the Great Moguls). Miran, the eldest surviving son, was [2]now thirty-six years old. As age and infirmity increased on the great Timur, Miran became the object of much court, and the centre of much intrigue. In 1389, he was Governor of Khorassan, with the title of Shah. Ten years later he received the government of Azerbijan, with his residence at Tabreez. He showed open favour to the Christian traders and [3]missionaries from the West, and expressed to Greenlaw his wish to enter also into a treaty with the King of England.

It was while Miran was still a powerful chief that Greenlaw was commissioned [4]by him to open communications with the King of France, proposing, in the name of Timur, an alliance against the Turks, their common enemy, and [5]promising favourable treatment for the French King's subjects in trading with the East. The conquerors showed every indication of a wish to live peaceably with their Christian neighbours, and now, after the victory of Angora, Archbishop Greenlaw was again employed to bear letters from Timur to the King of England. In these he informed him of his complete and miraculous victory over the Turks, and expressed his wish that English traders should continue to visit the country as in time past, and promised them his special protection.

Timur returned to Samarcand, and Greenlaw arrived in England, bearing his letters, in the winter of 1402. He left again to return to his diocese in February, 1403. The English King gave him [6]letters of protection for his journey. He

[1] Called variously "Mirza Miran Schab" (CLAVIJO, 193), "Mirassa Amirassa" (ROY. LET., i, 425), "Miran Meerza" (CLAVIJO, xlviii), "Miraschach" (SCHILTBERGER, 30), "Mirauxa" (VELLI, xii, 336). [2] CLAVIJO, xliv. [3] Præsertim viros religiosos et Catholicos Francos.—ROY. LET., i, 425. [4] "De mandato filii vestri magnifici."—ORIG. LET., III., i, 56. [5] See letters in TRESOR DES CHARTRES, INVENT. DE LA BIBL. ROYALE, 6765, f. 99, in VELLI, xii, 336; CHRON. ST. DENYS, xxiv, 19. [6] ORIG. LET., III., i, 55, dated London, February 12th.

travelled by Rome and Venice, bearing communications to the King of Cyprus, the King of Abkhasia (a district in the Caucasus, confounded in the minds of Europeans with Abyssinia, hence its King was identified with the mysterious [1]Prester John, with his [2]"large wones," and "al his tresorie"), the Emperor of Constantinople, the King of Georgia, and the Emperor of Trebizond (Manuel II.), who, though long independent of [3]Constantinople, had become a tributary of Timur. He carried letters written by Henry both to Timur and his son, expressing readiness to enter into relations of friendliness with the conquering Mussulmans. "Would that the day might dawn," he wrote in his letter to Timur, "in which your Highness would profess the religion of Christ, and stand up in power as the champion of the Christian Church against the enemies of the Cross!" But the hand which penned this pious wish had not the hardihood to send it to the brutal miscreant at Samarcand, and the passage stands timidly cancelled to this day in the [4]draft, which may yet be seen in the national collection in London.

Whenever Infidels and Christians met each other with kindness and courtesy, the Christians affected to believe that their opponents were really Christians in disguise, though they did not dare to say so. Thus, when the Earl of Warwick met "Sir Balderdain," the Sultan's representative at Jerusalem, the English [5]Earl declared that the Turk "in secrete wise tolde him that in his hert, thowe he durst not utter his concept, yet he faithfully beleved as we do." But the great deeds of this latest would-be champion of the Church of Christ are too monstrous and too startling to be left altogether without comment.

[1] Originally Khan of the Keraites, a people in the East of Asia, living between the sources of Yenesei and the Hoangho, converted by Nestorian missionaries in the twelfth century. — HOWORTH, i, 536. [2] CHAUCER, Flower and Leaf, 201. [3] Trebizond made itself independent of Constantinople in 1186, and had a line of Emperors of its own down to 1461.— CLAVIJO, 61, 62n. [4] MS. Nero B, xi, 172, in ORIG. LET., III., i, 54. [5] ROSS, Life of Earl of Warwick, in JUL. E, iv, 202; with plate xxv, in STRUTT, vol. ii.

When only [1]twenty years of age, he was seized with compunctions of conscience, and vowed that he would never injure any living creature. Great was his grief when he found that he had unintentionally trodden on an ant. He felt that his foot had lost its power. Yet here are some of his well-authenticated acts, after he had climbed to power amidst a hurricane of blood. In [2]1387, at the capture of Ispahan, he had 7,000 children under seven years of age trampled to death in the sight of their mothers, being himself the first to ride over their bodies when his followers held back from carrying out the foul order. In 1401, at [3]Sivas, or Sebaste, he induced the principal defenders of the city to come out to him, under promise that he would "cause no blood to be shed;" which promise he kept to the letter, for he had holes dug, and buried the unfortunate men alive, thus securing the fall of the city, which he immediately plundered and destroyed. After the fall of [4]Damascus, in 1402, 60,000 "white Tartars" were killed at Damgham, near Asterabad. The dead bodies were left in heaps of ten or twenty at the side of the roads, and two tall towers were built of their heads, plastered with mud. No wonder that [5]after Timur was dead "the priests heard him howl every night during a whole year." Then large numbers of prisoners were released at Samarcand, and after they were set free, "Tamerlin did not howl any more."

But we are fortunate in possessing the personal narrative of a Spanish traveller, who journeyed to Samarcand and saw the great conqueror in his own Court a year before he died. This famous narrative has been often quoted, but it is of such rare authenticity, and so racily and minutely graphic, that I think it will be instructive to conclude this chapter with a short abstract

[1] Memoirs, quoted in CLAVIJO, xvi. [2] SCHILTBERGER, 28. [3] CLAVIJO, 75. [4] *Ibid*, 102, who saw the towers as he passed the place in July, 1404. [5] SCHILTBERGER, 30.

of the impressions made on a cultivated European by the great Timur, just in the very year when he was conducting his diplomatic correspondence with the polished and chivalrous Courts of England, France, and Spain.

Henry III., King of Castille, had married Catherine, a half-sister of Henry, King of England. Two Castilian envoys were present at the battle of Angora, and were treated with distinction by Timur, who on their return to Europe sent with them an envoy, [1]Mohammed al Cazi, with rich presents to the King of Castille.

A return embassy started from Cadiz on Monday, May 21st, 1403, travelling by Constantinople to Trebizond, through Armenia, and across the deserts of Khorassan and Khiva. At Sultanieh, they had an interview with [2]Miran Shah (June 23rd, 1404). He was then forty years of age, "a large, corpulent, and gouty man." He had been deprived of his government of Azerbijan two years before; and a grandson of Timur, [3]Omar Sheikh, had been appointed in his place. After many delays and dangers, by sea and land, the Spaniards reached Samarcand on Sunday, August 31st, 1404, and on Monday, September 8th, they had an audience with Timur. One of the ambassadors, Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, has left an account of the details of the journey. They found Timur seated in a portal, in front of the entrance of a beautiful palace. "He was sitting on the ground, and before him there was a fountain which threw up water very high, and in it there were some red apples. The great Lord was seated cross-legged on silken embroidered carpets, amongst round pillows. He was dressed in a robe of silk, with a high white hat on his head, on the top of which was a spinal (?) ruby with pearls and precious stones set round it." They were brought close to him, "that the Lord might see them

[1] CLAVIJO, 4. [2] *Ibid*, 97. [3] *Ibid*, 84.

better, for his eyesight was bad, being so old that the eyelids had fallen down entirely." "At this time he was [1]infirm, and could neither go about on foot nor on horseback, but only in a litter." Turning to the nobles round him, [2]he said: "Behold, here are the ambassadors sent by my son, the King of Spain, who is the greatest King of the Franks, and lives at the end of the world. These Franks are truly a great people, and I will give my benediction to the King of Spain, my son." Such, at least, was the language diplomatically used in presence of the strangers, but in private the [3]remarks were not so complimentary.

They were served at a state banquet with portions cut from the haunch of a horse, and "pieces of the tripes of horses about the size of a man's fist, and whole sheep's heads served up with soup and sprinkled with salt." They got as much food at this meal "as would have lasted them for half-a-year," and they had to take it to their lodgings to finish it. A week later, another banquet was arranged for their special entertainment, but they had to wait for their interpreter, and so arrived when the feast was over. Timur [4]was "in a great rage," and ordered a hole to be bored through the interpreter's nose, and a rope to be passed through it, to drag the man through the army, but he consented to pardon the poor wretch just as his nose had been seized and the boring was going to begin. At [5]another time the Knight who was in attendance on them almost got *his* nose bored, for letting them call at the wrong time. He escaped, however, "with only a sound flogging."

Timur's favourite [6]wife wore a robe of red silk, trimmed with gold lace, without any waist or opening except for the head and arms. Fifteen ladies held up her skirt, "to enable her to walk;" feathers nodded over her eyes, and she "had so much [7]white

[1] CLAVIJO, 165. [2] *Ibid*, 132, 133. [3] GIBBON, viii, 62. [4] CLAVIJO, 138. [5] *Ibid*, 167. [6] *Ibid*, 154. [7] Cf. the Sompnour's pimples, in Prol. 629:—

"Ther nas quyksilver, litarge, ne bremstoon
Boras, ceruel, ne oille of tartre noon,
Ne oynement that wolde clense and byte
That him mighte helpen of his whelkes white."

lead on her face that it looked like paper." Three ladies held her head-dress on, "that it might not fall on one side." Wine was forbidden generally, without special permission, but at the great feasts everybody was required "to forswear thin potations and addict themselves to sack." Clavijo was a [1]total abstainer. He praises the "bosat," a drink made of cream and sugar. The ambassadors were allowed to follow their own European customs, and drink and eat leisurely at their own lodgings. But the other guests "ate with much noise, tearing the pieces away from each other, and making game over their food," and "the [2]dust was such that people's faces and clothes were all one colour." When the guests fell down drunk, the Court ladies present "considered this very jovial, for they think that there can be no pleasure without drunken men." Then followed a great mumming of the various tribes. The amusements included [3]juggling, or magic (where insubstantial pageants melted into thin air), wrestling, chess-playing, rope-dancing, and races between horses and elephants. In the middle of the masquerade gallows were erected, and some Councillors and others who had been high in office during Timur's long absence were brought out and hanged by the heels for various offences. One favourite [4]joke of the old savage was to spread reports of his own death, "to see who would rebel," when he fell upon them and crushed them as an example.

[1] CLAVIJO, 148. [2] *Ibid*, 140. [3] Cf. the Jogulours and Enchantoures, in SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE, who "don many marvaylles," before the Grete Chan, "for they maken to come in the ayr the Sonne and the Mone, *be seminge*, to every mannes sight, and after they maken the nyght so derk that no man may see nothing." Also the Tregetoures (in CHAUCER, Frankeleine's Tale, 11458):

"Sometime hath semed come a grim leonne,
And sometime floures spring as in a mede,
Sometime a vine, and grapes white and rede,
Sometime a castel, al of lime and ston,
And whan hem liketh voideth it anon,
Thus *semeth* it to every mannes sight.
And yet remued they never out of the hous
While they saw all thise sightes merveillous."

[4] CLAVIJO, 188.

It is not surprising that after many days and nights of this kind of junketing, Timur "fell ill" [1](November 2nd, 1404). On Friday, November 21st, the envoys were hurried unceremoniously out of Samarcand, as it was believed that Timur was really dying, lest they should publish the fact of his death, and so cause inconvenience. After various fresh adventures they landed at last in their own country, at San Lucar (March 1st, 1406).

Timur did not live long after their departure. For a short while he seemed to recover his energy, and he turned his face eastward for the conquest of China. But at Otrar, beyond the Syr Daria, he fell ill of a fever, and returned to Samarcand, where he died, [2]February 19th, 1405, leaving behind him ruined cities, wasted countries, mountains of spoil, and pyramids of human heads.

Nothing came of the proposed alliance with England, for Timur's sons and grandsons were too busy poisoning and otherwise exterminating each other. The pious prayer of the English King remained unfulfilled. But it may be noted that in addressing the Prince of Abkhasia, one of those chiefs to whom Greenlaw carried letters, Henry [3]spoke of his longing desire to see the Holy Sepulchre, and, if his life were spared, to pay his service there in person before he died. The Emperor Manuel returned in peace to Constantinople, to enjoy the reward of others' labours, and continued to maintain [4]friendly relations with England and France, where so much kindness had lately been shown to him.

[1] CLAVIJO, 167. [2] SCHILTBERGER, 133. The date usually given is April 1st, but this must be wrong, for on March 26th the Spanish Ambassadors, when at Karabagh, heard of the death of Janza Mirza, which was certainly after the death of Timur.—CLAVIJO, 185. [3] ROY. LET., i, 421. [4] RYM., viii, 299, March 29th, 1403.

CHAPTER XXII.

The French Challenges.

It was in the winter of 1402, while Henry was in London making final arrangements for transferring his new bride to England, that a strange surprise was sprung upon him from a quarter whence it was little expected.

It will be remembered that when Henry was an exile in Paris, in 1399, he had contracted a strong personal friendship for the French King's brother, Louis, Duke of Orleans. The Duke of Orleans was one of the most prominent personages of his time, and his tragic end, together with the fearful political consequences that followed it, will for ever keep his memory alive. A [1]modern French historian, in the play of his delightful fancy, has depicted the Duke of Orleans as the type of one of the two opposing forces then struggling for the mastery in France. [2]Christine de Pisan, a contemporary well acquainted with the life of the Court in Paris, and personally known to the Duke, has drawn his picture with charming flattery—his devoutness from his first lisping infancy, his eloquence, courtesy, courage, gaiety, and condescension. But whatever may have been his boyish promise and his private graces, as a [3]public man he appears at best as a brilliant, reckless, unprincipled libertine. The friendship between him and Henry arose, no doubt, from strong personal sympathies, and was formally sealed in a written [4]agreement duly witnessed, after the fashion [5]of the young

[1] Michelet, bk. viii, ch. 1. [2] Christ., ii, xvi. C'estoit doulceté chose lui oir dire enfenciablement à genoux ses petites mains joinctes devant l'image Nostre Dame. [3] Velli, xii, 357. [4] Monstr., i, 9. [5] Cf. Palamon and Arcite, in Chaucer's Knight's Tale (274), who

"I-swore ful deepe and ech of us to other

bloods of chivalry, in which they undertook mutually to assist each other for the future in their several enterprises; excepting always that the French Duke refused to join in any schemes against his own country, or his neighbours and kinsmen in Italy, Hungary, Scotland, and other parts of the world.

About the month of November, 1402, and probably before the Parliament had risen, Henry was in his palace at Westminster, [1]seated at some game (perhaps [2]chess) with several of his courtiers, when a herald presented himself, bearing a letter from the Duke of Orleans to the King of England. The King received the letter and withdrew, with a few of his more intimate personal friends, to a chamber apart, where he caused the letter to be read aloud. It was dated from Coucy, August 7th, 1402, though for some cause it was not delivered till some months later. Indeed, at the time when the letter was written, Henry was not at Westminster, but at [3]Ravensdale, in Lincolnshire. The letter was couched in terms of perfect friendliness and courtesy. It set forth the degeneracy to which all Princes were liable if they passed their youth in idleness, and urged that the only antidote lay in seeking for honours and renown by feats of arms. For these reasons, the young Frenchman had decided to devote himself to a career of arms, and how could he better begin than by seeking out a worthy rival for his venture. He accordingly hereby challenged Henry to meet him on a given day, to be subsequently arranged. The meeting was to take place on the borders of Aquitaine, Henry to start from

That thou schuldest trewely forthren me
In every caas, and I schal forthren the."

Though they fall out on the first suitable opportunity, and

" Defye the seurté and the bond."—*Ibid*, 746.

[1] Ou il estoit asses joue.—WAURIN., 4, 6, 3. [2] See a picture in illuminated MS. of Christine de Pisan (des cent Histoires de Troye), executed about 1400 for Philip Duke of Burgundy, where five persons are seated at the game, with the board resting on their knees. This MS. was sold (for £650) in the Perkin's Collection, at Hanworth, in 1873. [3] RYM., viii, 273.

Bordeaux and himself from Angoulême, each attended by 100 Knights and Esquires, to fight with lance, axe, sword, and dagger, till one should yield himself prisoner to the other, to be detained or dealt with at the conqueror's discretion.

The Duke was now a married man, thirty-one years of age, and it is difficult to understand the meaning of his wish now "to [1]commence a career of arms." Nothing had occurred on Henry's side to cause a breach of friendship. No provocation had been offered by the English. It was only assumed that, because the Duke himself was leading an idle life, Henry must be doing the same. But the date of the letter corresponded suspiciously with the time fixed by the Scots for their invasion of the North. It was issued just at the time when the Duke of Orleans, [2]acting as governor for his brother, had embarked in a disastrous struggle against the French clergy and the Duke of Burgundy. In the previous [3]May (1402), there had been an encounter at Montandré, in Guyenne, between French and English champions, seven on each side, in which the English were worsted. It had begun, seemingly, as a result of a general challenge "for the loves of their ladies," such as were very frequent in all parts of the West; but the seven French champions were specially despatched under the favour of the Duke of Orleans. Their courage was stimulated by harangues, in which they were told that they fought not for their ladies, but "for the fair and reasonable quarrel of their King against his old enemies, the English," and when they returned victorious to Paris, clad in white, they were fêted and welcomed ostentatiously by the Duke of Orleans, the official representative of the French King.

[1] "Me fait penser de present à *commencer* faire mestier d'armes."—MONSTR. [2] JUV., 421. [3] May 19th (JUV., 422), or 20th (ST. YVO). See CHRON. OF BERRI, in GODEFROY, p. 413 (where the event is wrongly assigned to 1404), with extract from poem of OCTAVIAN DE ST. GELAIS, Bishop of Angoulême, who was an eye-witness of the fight.—GODEFROY, p. 745.

The challenge to Henry purports to be the genuine outcome of that spurious chivalry which characterized the age, but taken in connection with all the circumstances which preceded and followed it, it has more the look of a wanton act of provocation.

When the letter was read, the few friends who heard it were much upset *(furent tous esbahis)*, knowing the terms of friendship on which Henry stood with the Duke; but the King was too [1]"ware and wise" *(sage et* [2]*ymaginatif)* to let a stranger see their annoyance. He sent for the herald, told him that he should have an answer, in a short while, and dismissed him under every form of civility, with a present of forty nobles and a safeguard for his journey. The herald departed, and returned by Dover, Calais, and Boulogne, to Coucy; informing his master that he had been [3]favourably received, and that the English King's answer might be looked for in a few days.

In the meantime, Henry submitted the challenge to his Council, with a request that they would read it and offer their advice on every point raised. Four days after the return of the French herald, Henry had prepared his reply, which is dated the 15th (or the 5th) of December, 1402, and is to the following effect:—

He expressed his surprise that such a challenge should have been sent in the face of the peace then existing between the two countries, and the special bond of friendship between themselves as individuals, which bond he, for his part, must henceforward consider to be cancelled and annulled. As to the danger of degeneracy from idleness, God is powerful enough to give us plenty of work to do when He sees fit, and if we wait His time, He will take care of our honour. He then reminded Louis that none of the Kings of England, his predecessors, had

[1] CHAUCER, Shipman's Tale, 13295; Monk, 13946. [2] Cf. "Nothing list him to be imaginatif."—CHAUCER, Frankelein's Tale, 11406, where the word means suspicious. [3] "Le Roy les avoit recheu en gre."

ever accepted a challenge from any person of lower rank than themselves, and that he never used his strength, or that of his subjects for such purposes: "for we think that what a royal Prince does, he should do for the honour of God, the common profit of all Christendom and of his own kingdom, and not for vainglory, or passing ambition *(convoitise temporelle)*." As for the suggestion to meet in Aquitaine, he would choose his own time for visiting that part of his own dominions, and then if the Duke wished he might present himself with as many followers as he chose, in fulfilment of his "courageous desires." He should then find such answer to his challenge as would send him back satisfied to the full. "And God knows, and we would have all men know, that this our answer proceeds not from arrogance, or presumption of heart, or to lay reproach on any honest gentleman who holds his honour dear, but only to bring down the pride and confidence of the man (whoever he may be) who cannot know and keep his proper station, and if your real claim be to be held a knight free from reproach, take heed to keep your pledged word better for the future than you are doing now."

This letter was forthwith despatched by a herald, who proceeded across the Channel and delivered it to the Duke of Orleans, in Paris, on January 1st, 1403. It was read by the Duke and his Council, and much discussed by them. So plain and sensible and damaging a letter [1]gave great offence; yet prudence required that the Duke should not at once put himself further in the wrong. The English herald was dismissed with a present of fifty crowns, and returned with a message that Henry's letter should not long remain without a reply.

But France was bubbling with excitement, and other restless spirits, besides the Duke of Orleans, were eager to drag their country into war. Waleran of Luxemburg, Count of Ligny

[1] "Mal prins en gre."—WAUR., p. 72.

and St. Pol, was a neighbour of the Duke of Orleans, and his Earldom bordered on the Duke's estates at Coucy. At the close of the reign of Edward III. (1374) Waleran had fallen a [1]prisoner into the hands of the English. He had been long detained in England, and had married an English lady, [2]Mathilda Courtenay, a half-sister of Richard II. Returning to his own country, on the accession of Charles VI., he had become a prominent figure in French politics and warfare, and had been commissioned, as Governor or Captain of Picardy, to take over the person of Queen Isabella from the English envoys at Lenlingham, in August, 1401. Very [3]soon after the events now to be related, his only daughter, Jeanne, was married to Antoine, Count de Rethel, the second son of the Duke of Burgundy.

Acting, there is little doubt (as the sequel shows), in connection with the Duke of Orleans, Count Waleran likewise despatched a letter to Henry. It is dated from his castle of [4]St. Pol (on the borders of Artois and Picardy), February 11th, 1403. In it he does not recognize Henry as King of England, but as Duke of Lancaster only. He claims to speak as the husband of the sister of King Richard, "of whose destruction you are notoriously convicted," and he proclaims his intention to do all the damage that lies in his power to Henry and his supporters, by land and sea, beyond the limits of the kingdom of France. He adds that the quarrel is entirely a personal one, quite apart from any causes "stirred, or likely to be stirred," between the King of France and the English people.

His messenger delivered the message, and received in return nothing beyond a [5]verbal answer to the effect that no great heed would be paid to his threats of violence, but that means would

[1] L'Art de Verif., ii, 778. [2] Monstr. (xi) calls her "La Comtesse heritiere de Mehault," probably Maud. Biondi (66) calls her Magdalen Holland. [3] Contract, dated February 19th, 1403.—L'Art de Verif., ii, 636; Monstr., i, xi, 13. [4] Waur.,—more probable than "Luxemburg," as Monstr. [5] "Tout de bouche."—Waur., 85.

be taken to give him quite enough to do in looking after the safety of himself, his tenants, and his estates. At the same time an [1]order was issued to the officers of the seaports, not to allow foreigners to land who brought letters which might be injurious to the King or the country. The messenger recrossed the Channel, and told his master, at [2]Arras, what he had heard; upon which the Count was much disturbed. But having gone so far he was bound to go a little further, and his next step showed about as much unwisdom as the first.

On hearing the lame result of his fiery challenge to Henry, he repaired to his castle at Bouchain, where he had a figure stuffed and dressed to represent the Earl of Rutland, now Duke of [3]York, Governor of Aquitaine and Warden of the Channel Islands, who in the [4]eyes of every Frenchman was the double-dyed traitor who betrayed King Richard to his ruin. The dummy was clothed in full armour, and supplied with a portable gibbet, and the whole was conveyed with the utmost secrecy *(assez secrétement)*, to a fortress in the district of Boulogne, from whence a small band of hardy warriors took it in the night, and set it up, with the figure dangling heels uppermost, outside the gates of Calais;—and then ran away. In the morning, when the gates of Calais were opened, people were surprised to see the gibbet, which they at once took down and removed to a place inside the walls; and that seems really to have been the end of the matter, except that "the English of Calais were more inclined to injure the Count of St. Pol, his lands, and his subjects, than ever they had been before." On the other hand, an Esquire named [5]Gilbert de Fretun, a native of Guisnes and

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 60, no date, but perhaps most suitable at this time. [2] "Aire."—WAUR., 85. [3] RYM., viii, 303. [4] See such a violent passage as:—"Tu traitre de Rotelan tu nes pas digne ne bons assez por parler a moy, ne de porter nom de Duc ne de Conte ne de Chlr., &c."—TRAIS., 65. Also, "L'ardant affection d' Amour que tu avois au tres faulx Comte de Rotelant."—CRET. ARCH., xx, 87. [5] MONSTR., i, 12.

a vassal of the English King, renounced his allegiance, and with two ships of war, well equipped, kept up a series of piratical attacks upon the English whenever occasion offered. We shall hear of him again.

The [1]"somewhat rash adventure" of the Count of St. Pol must draw our attention again to the fate of King Richard, and a few facts briefly inserted here may clear the way for a right knowledge of a very tangled controversy. It will be remembered that, earlier in the year, persistent efforts had been made to spread a rumour that Richard was alive in Scotland. Isabella had been restored to her parents in the summer of 1401. She was now fourteen years of age, and some arrangement must be made for her future. If Richard was really dead, her hand would now be eagerly sought in marriage by each of the intriguing parties about the Court of Charles VI. But if he still lived, the fact ought to be established beyond dispute, without any further delay. For this purpose a better agent could not be secured than Jean Creton, a name often quoted in the earlier pages of this volume.

Creton was a French Esquire of the [2]family of Estourmel, who had a ready gift of rhyming. His literary talent had secured for him the friendship of the Earl of Salisbury, when he visited Paris in 1399, to prevent the marriage between Henry, who was then in exile, and Marie, daughter of the Duke of Berri. Very soon afterwards, an opportunity presented itself of crossing to England, in attendance upon a French Knight, in the early spring of 1399. King Richard was just about to cross to Ireland, and, by the influence of the Earl of Salisbury, Creton and his master were enabled to join the expedition; and it is to his ready pen that we owe the graphic

[1] "Entreprise un peu téméraire."—DUCHESNE, 796. [2] TRAIS., p. ix. See his receipt for wages for service under Robert de Clermont (dated Paris, October 7th, 1357), in ARCHÆOL., xxviii, 86.

account of the campaign in Ireland, the recrossing to Milford, and the betrayal and capture of King Richard, at all of which scenes the French rhymer was present as an eyewitness. When Richard was lodged as a prisoner in the Tower of London, Creton obtained Henry's permission to leave England, and he returned to his own country with his heart [1]full of anger against the usurper, and full of grief for the misfortunes of the fallen and captive King, for whom he had conceived a strong and devoted personal attachment. He remained in attendance on the Court of Charles VI. for some time after his return from England, and on the restoration of Isabella he drew up an account in rhyming French of the events that he had witnessed in England two years before. He had been urged to write by his friend the Earl of Salisbury (now dead) and in a letter written about 1402, he [2]avows that he wrote his story in order that the life and actions of Richard's enemies might be held up to shame and reproach amongst the French.

On the arrival of the vague news that Richard was alive in Scotland, Creton could not restrain his delight at the tidings. In the exaltation of the moment he himself addressed a letter to Richard, which is still [3]extant. He refers to the rumour, saying that "his heart melts to think of it. True, most men who speak of it cannot believe it, but he will trust that God has preserved his patron in order to manifest His power. Richard's image has been ever before his eyes, and night and day he has thought of him. How would he be comforted if his own aged eyes could see him again before his death! He urges Richard to send some certain news or token that he is yet alive; not to hold back in anger because his misfortunes are not yet avenged,

[1] See his ode (beginning: "O tu, Henri"), in ARCHÆOL., xx, 379. [2] "Et saichez que touls les maulx et horribles trahisons que ils t'ont faictes j' ay manifestées par figures *pardis* au Royaulme de France, affin que leur vie soit honteuse et pleine de reproches."—ARCHÆOL., xxviii, 88. [3] See the full copy, *Ibid*, xxviii, 87, &c.

but to come into France, where he would find faithful friends ready to die for his cause, and his young wife waiting for his embrace. Or, at least, if he is prevented from coming himself, let him send some evidence of his wishes; buoyed with the pious hope that he would soon take vengeance on his enemies, whose blood should flow in rivers, and whose end should be a warning to all traitors for all time to come. He finished with the expression of a wish that he might himself cross in person, to see his patron and dear friend once again.

Very soon after this letter was written, Creton found his wishes actually fulfilled. By order of Charles VI., to whose Court he was then attached as a Chamberlain *(varlet de chambre)*, he was authorized to proceed to Scotland, to discover by personal enquiry on behalf of the King of France whether Richard was really alive or not, and [1]200 francs were allowed him for his expenses on the way. Creton, who was now nearly seventy years of age, took his journey, arriving in Scotland probably about the time of the disaster at Humbledon. He soon found that the Scots had not attempted to carry out their proclaimed intention of marching with their pretended Richard to regain his throne, and it took him no long time to find out the truth [2]that "the noble blood of the good Catholic King Richard had been villainously and traitorously shed, and that it was a sad and pitiful tale to hear the end of that life which had closed before it reached maturity."

With a heavy heart Creton returned to Paris, and delivered his news. But his zeal did not let him rest. In the warmth of his devotion to Richard's memory, he wrote an eloquent and learned [3]appeal to the Duke of Burgundy, as the virtual ruler of France. The letter is not dated, but contains evidence of

[1] See his receipt for 100 francs, the first instalment paid August 7th, 1410, in ARCHÆOL., 28, 95. [2] See his letter to the Duke of Burgundy, in *Ibid*, 28, 93. [3] *Ibid*, 28, 91-94.

having been written in the closing months of 1402; for among other things it refers to the Duke's having assumed the Regency of Brittany, which dates from October 19th, 1402. In it Creton implores the Duke not to consent to further truce with England, but to raise the country in arms. "Now is the favourable time!" he exclaims. "Spread your sails on the sea, and your banners in the wind, and take vengeance for the noble blood shed in Albion!" He asserts that it is the plain duty of France to be Richard's avenger, when he remembered the sad appeal which the fallen King made to France, on the night when he found himself a prisoner shut up in Flint Castle (August, 1399); how he had [1]called on all the Lords of France to take up his cause, but especially upon the Duke of Burgundy and his "brother," the Count of St. Pol.

The effect produced on the Count of St. Pol by the return of Creton, we have already seen. Let us now follow the further course of the story.

With France there was still a formal truce. It will be remembered that, as a result of frequent communications, it had been decided in September, 1402, that there should be a pause in negociations and hostilities until May 1st, 1403, and that representatives of France and England should then meet again, to endeavour to make a more lasting arrangement. The date fixed was now close at hand. On [2]April 28th, 1403, five Commissioners were appointed to represent the English side, and on the [3]5th of May, four Commissioners were nominated by the French. The [4]22nd of May was fixed upon for the first Conference of the representatives, at Lenlingham, and [5]proclamations had been sent out requiring all grievances and claims to be lodged with the envoys by that date. On the last

[1] Cf. ARCHÆOL., 28, 93, with 20, 372, and TRAIS., 53. [2] RYM., viii, 301. [3] *Ibid*, viii, 317. [4] *Ibid*, viii, 302. [5] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 4 H. IV., PASC., May 21st; CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 11, May 5th, 1403.

day of April, while in the midst of these arrangements of state, Henry received a second letter from the Duke of Orleans.

The letter was dated March 22nd, 1403, but was not delivered till the last day of April, probably with a view to increase the difficulty of the negociations just about to be renewed. In it the form of studied politeness was thrown aside, and violent recrimination took its place. The Duke disclaimed all private friendship with the King of England, a man who could act towards his Sovereign Lord, Richard, as he had done, openly and as everyone knew that he had done *(ce qui est evidamment aparu et que chascun scet que fait avez)* *i.e.*, by capturing and dethroning him without formally throwing off his allegiance. This feature of the usurpation was the head and front of the offending, for the scrupulous and punctilious Duke of Orleans was generally [1]credited with having been Henry's aider and abettor in preparing and carrying out the scheme; and his [2]representatives were present, and were specially privileged, at Henry's coronation, at Westminster. But the Duke does not allow his indignation to rest only on such a transparent unreality as this. Referring to Richard as now certainly dead, he hints at Henry as his murderer *(le roy Richard vostre seigneur liege darrein trespasse, Dieu scet par quy).* He speaks of Isabella as bereft of a husband, "by your rigour and cruelty," and as Henry had declined his challenge on the ground that it would be useless to spill the blood of innocent men, the Duke of Orleans retorts upon him with the sarcasm that he seems to have more pity for [3]their blood than he had for that of his Liege and Sovereign Lord. Apart from this the letter contained nothing more than an angry repetition of the challenge, and a demand for a further reply.

Henry's answer was not long in coming. We do not know

[1] TRAIS., 235. [2] *Ibid*, 74. [3] Reading: "leur sang" (WAUR.) instead of "leur santè" (MONSTR.).

the [1]date, but it was probably written and despatched within a short while after the receipt of the Duke of Orleans' second letter. A Great Council had been called for [2]May 28th, and he may have submitted the matter for their consideration. To all the frothy indignation with which Louis affects to regard the deposition of Richard, Henry has a very convincing answer, viz.: that in the secret agreement signed between them, in 1399, the Duke of Orleans approved the adventure against Richard, and even promised his aid; that his representatives were present at Henry's coronation; and that some time afterwards *(longtemps apres)* he had again sent a special messenger to England, assuring Henry of his entire friendship, and bearing a request that he would not divulge "to any Frenchman" the terms, or even the existence of their secret agreement. Upon this, Henry now again repudiates his friendship, asserting that the Duke of Orleans had been far more disloyal to his Sovereign and brother than ever he (Henry) had been to Richard, and that the secret agreement by which he had bound himself was part of an ambitious plot to thwart his uncle, the Duke of Burgundy. This method was, indeed, no unusual one with Louis, for he had only lately [3](January 14th, 1402), through the mediation of the Duke of Berri, been reconciled to the Duke of Burgundy, who had deeply resented his action in entering into a separate secret agreement with the Duke of Gueldres. As to the veiled hints that Henry was Richard's murderer, "we know not with what end or intention you say it, but if you mean or dare to say that it was by us or our consent, it is false, and will be every time you say it." Having thus given the lie, Henry agreed to accept the Duke of Orleans' challenge, if he dared to maintain it or to prove it. He subsequently took means to publish both

[1] Unless this is settled by collection of MSS. DE BRIENNE BIBL. DU ROY, xxxiv, 239, quoted in TRAIS., lxvii. [2] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, PASC., 4 H. IV., May 21st. [3] JUV., 420.

the letters of challenge and his replies, and so the quarrel paused.

The negociations already pending were not, however, allowed to drop. The French envoys received their instructions, dated [1]June 11th; a meeting was arranged; and on the [2]27th of June, 1403, an undertaking was entered into at Lenlingham, whereby it was agreed that the truce should continue between the two countries, notwithstanding any acts of violence committed by individuals on either side; that merchants, traders, and others, who had been taken prisoners on either side, should be released without ransom on the following September 5th, and that any claims for compensation on account of damages or losses suffered, should be considered equitably and settled by the 1st of March, 1404; that all armed vessels should be recalled on either side by September 1st, 1403, and that all future infractions of the truce should be duly punished. The French claims [3]for the repayment of the 200,000 francs and some jewels, and the English counter-claim for payment of 1,500,000 francs, on account of the ransom of King John, were still held over, as the envoys were not empowered to answer decisively about them. The challenge sent by the Duke of Orleans occupied a large share of the attention of the Commissioners. The English representatives, through their principal, Henry Bowet, Bishop of Bath and Wells, declared that they considered it a clear violation of the treaty, and asked whether it had been sent with the consent of the King of France, or his Council acting on his behalf; but they could get no satisfactory answer beyond a diplomatic evasion to the effect that the King and his Council had never broken the truce, nor did they intend to do so. Beyond this they declined to commit themselves. The answer was still deemed unsatisfactory, and the English Ambassadors asked that a fuller reply might be given by March 1st, or

[1] THRES. DES CHARTRES. [2] RYM., viii, 305. [3] *Ibid*, viii, 315.

earlier, if the King recovered his health. But the French Commissioners would hold out no further promise, and the matter was left undecided, except that a formal [1]note of the conversation was made, and duly witnessed by a public notary.

On [2]July 10th, 1403, instructions were issued to the French envoys laying great stress on the importance of including the Scots as allies of France, and necessary to help in securing the safety of the seas. On the [3]26th of August, the King of England (being then at Beckley, near Oxford, on his way towards Wales) nominated five Commissioners to represent the English side on the approaching 5th of September.

As a consequence of the conversations mentioned above, the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol were expressly [4]excluded by name from all benefits of the proposed truce, and on the [5]14th of October, 1403, the former wrote another violent letter to Henry, in which he charged him [6]directly with Richard's death, and declared that he would fail in his attempt to put bad blood between himself and his "very dear" uncle, the Duke of Burgundy. But before this letter could be received many things had happened in England, which must now require our attention.

[1] RYM., viii, 310. [2] THRES. DES CHARTRES, 73. [3] RYM., viii, 325. [4] ANN., 372. [5] See extract, in TRAIS., lxvii; MSS. DE BRIENNE BIBL. DU ROY, xxxiv, 239. [6] "Occidisti Regem cognatum tuum."—EULOG., iii, 395.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Annexation of Southern Scotland.

No settlement had been made with Scotland after the fatal disaster at Humbledon. The prisoners still remained unransomed, and already disputes began to arise between the followers of the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, as to their respective claims to the captives taken in the previous September. The Earl of Westmoreland had [1]not been himself present at the battle, but his tenants had taken their full part in the toil and hazard of the day, and claimed their fair share in the division of the spoil. On the 9th of March, 1403, Henry appointed a Commission of ten (six of them Knights and four lawyers) to arbitrate and decide upon the various conflicting claims.

But larger results were expected from the victory than mere money payments to the victorious combatants. The English had for some time past established themselves in the castles of Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, and even before the victory of Humbledon it had been a serious question as to whether the district of Teviotdale should not (with the consent of the inhabitants) transfer its allegiance to the English crown, thereby extending the English boundary to the line of the Tweed. The strong castle of Lochmaben was in the hands of the Earl of Westmoreland, and formed a corresponding *point d'appui* for annexing the fertile district of Annandale, whenever the opportunity should arise.

The favourable moment seemed now to be at hand, and

[1] "Ipso ad tunc nobiscum in partibus Walliæ existente."—Rym., viii, 292.

having in his prisons the most powerful Barons of Scotland, iucluding the Earl of Douglas and the son of the Regent, the Duke of Albany, Henry declared the whole county of Douglas, with the valleys of Teviotdale, Eskdale, Liddesdale, Lauderdale, Selkirk and Ettrick Forest, Annandale and Galloway, to be conquered and annexed to England. By this preposterous act the English King, without a sign of consent on the part of the Scottish rulers, claimed to annex and dispose of the whole district south of the Tweed, comprising the counties of Roxburgh and Selkirk, with the greater part of Berwick, Peebles, Dumfries, and Lanark. There is evidence also that his ambition extended even to the [1]line of the Forth, then called "the Scottish Sea," and if this claim could have been made good he would have been able to restore to his new vassal, the Earl of March, his lands and castles round Dunbar, and exact by force the homage of King Robert at Edinburgh.

On the [2]2nd of March, 1403, a proclamation was issued granting all the newly annexed region to the Earl of Northumberland and his heirs for ever, reserving to the Earl of Westmoreland his existing possessions in the district, and to the Crown the castles and towns of Roxburgh and Annan, together with a general overlordship over the whole.

Armed with this large authority, Henry Percy crossed the Border to take possession in his father's name, but he soon found that the King's liberal gift was not his to give. He crossed the hills from the valley of the Till, but before he had moved many miles into the country he found himself pulled up before the little blockhouse or [3]Tower of Cocklaw, whose owner, James Gladstone, promptly refused to recognize his authority.

[4]Hardyng, the chronicler, was present with Percy at Cocklaw, as he was also at Humbledon and Shrewsbury, and "at divers

[1] SCOTTICHRON., xv, 15, 435. [2] RYM., viii, 289; ROT. SCOT., ii, 163. [3] "Tantillæ turris." —SCOTICHRON, xv, 16, 437. [4] HARDYNG, p. 351.

rodes and feeldis wyth him, and knewe his entent and hade it wretyn." Showers of arrows were rained at the walls, so that the defenders dared not show their heads above the parapets. Engines were brought up and mines dug, but all to no purpose, for the little garrison held out. Percy had here a repetition of his previous experience at Conway, and knowing how difficult it was to reduce a stronghold, however insignificant, if resolutely defended and sufficiently provisioned, he was compelled to come to terms with the defenders. Accordingly, in the month of [1]May, he agreed to suspend the siege for six weeks, on condition that the siege works and material should remain just as they were. In the interval, the besieged might apply to the King of Scotland, or the Regent Albany, for help, and if it were not rendered before the following Lammastide (August 1st), the Tower, with all its contents, and the whole garrison, should be forthwith surrendered to the English.

The same difficulty was experienced, and a similar arrangement was concluded, in the case of the castle of [2]Ormiston, near Hawick, in Teviotdale. Hostages were taken by the Earl of Northumberland and Henry Percy, and it was agreed by indenture that the place should be surrendered to the English, if not relieved by battle before the 1st of August.

By such agreements Percy hoped to be relieved of the vexatious delays occasioned by the obstinacy of these small but troublesome strongholds, while, if Albany could be taunted into sending an army to meet him in the field, he had good hope of extending his fame, and securing his new possessions, by a second Humbledon. Finding, as yet, no serious resistance in the open, he [3]ravaged the country, drove off many flocks and herds, captured many prisoners, and returned to the English side of the Border again.

[1] WYNTOWN, ix, 24, 3. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 203. [3] ANN., 360.

James Gladstone made his application, as arranged, and received ready promise of help from the Regent. [1]In the month of July, seven Frenchmen passed through England on their way to enquire whether the King of Scotland wished to be included in the proposed truce then negociating between France and England. Their safe-conduct was dated July 22nd, 1403, the very day before the battle of Shrewsbury. As August approached, the Regent passed [2]along the coast to Dunbar, surprised a garrison of English at the neighbouring castle of [3]Inverwick, and presented himself, according to promise, before the gates of Cocklaw at Lammastide. But by this time Henry Percy's head was on the gates of York, and Scotland had been delivered from a daring and dangerous neighbour.

[1]Rym., viii, 319. [2]"Atoure ye Scotis Se."—Wyntown. [3]See entry in Exchequ. Rolls Scot. (iv, 644), "pro quibusdam lignis emptis ad obsidionem castri de Innerwyk, xxs = 20s."

CHAPTER XXIV

Owen in Caermarthen.

The opening of the spring had been the signal for renewed operations by the Welsh. [1]On the 7th of March, 1403, the Prince of Wales was appointed by the Council to represent his father as Lieutenant on the Marches of Wales, supported by the full forces of the counties of Shropshire, Worcester, Hereford, and Gloucester. He made his head-quarters at Shrewsbury, and, in addition to conducting active operations in the field, he was authorized to seek out and punish all those who had helped the rebels with arms or supplies, and to grant the King's pardon to those of them who would submit and give up their arms.

Owen was already in full activity. The castles of Harlech and Lampeter were surrounded and cut off, and rumours were abroad that a large force of Welsh was collecting, and threatening to make a raid into the English counties.

On the English side money was scarce, as usual. The grants made in the last Parliament could not be got in till after Whitsuntide, and on [2]April 1st the Council made an urgent request to the wealthiest of the Abbots and Priors, and others, who would be then bound to contribute, to prepay the amounts standing in their names as a loan for an emergency, though the money was not yet strictly claimable. By this means a large sum, 22,000 marks (or about £15,000) was got in for use against the Welsh and the Scots.

The Prince of Wales marched early into the country. Knowing the scarcity of provisions, he made arrangements for carrying supplies for his men and oats for the horses. Thus

[1] Rym., viii, 291; Pat., 4 H. IV., 2, 32. [2] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 199.

equipped, he marched by Denbighshire into the valley of the Dee. Finding no resistance, he burned Owen's chief residence at Sychnant, with many cottages of his tenants. Thence he marched to another property of Owen's, on the Dee. Here they set fire to "a fine lodge in his park," and all the district round about, camping on the ground for the night. No force opposed them. They captured one of Owen's chief supporters and put him to death, though he offered to pay £500 within a fortnight if his life could be spared. Many others shared the same fate. After burning and plundering in Merioneth and Montgomery, the Prince returned to Shrewsbury by [1]May 15th, and despatched news of his successes to London.

But Owen was biding his time. The besieged places held out with difficulty. The Prince had not the money to pay his men, who had now been three months under arms, though he had pledged his jewels *(noz petitz joualx)* to secure advances, and on the 30th of May he wrote from Shrewsbury to the Council, urgently asking for means to pay the wages of his troops, otherwise they would not remain with him. In North Wales he had to maintain garrisons in the castles of Conway, Caernarvon, Criccieth, and Harlech. These [2]four garrisons alone amounted to 51 men-at-arms and 220 archers, the annual

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 61, 62. These two letters seem to refer to 1403. Cf. *Ibid*, i, 206, which acknowledges report by John Waterton, with ii, 62, in which John Waterton is sent. They certainly do not suit 1402, as suggested by Sir H. Ellis, who is followed by Sir H. Nicholas. [2] Thus:—

	Men-at-Arms.	Archers.	Cost per annum.
Conway	15	60	£714 15 10
Caernarvon	20	80	900 6 8
Criccieth	6	50	416 14 2
Harlech	10	30	389 6 8
	51	220	2421 3 4
Revenue for purpose, 2000 marks =			1333 6 8
Deficit =			1087 16 8

ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 64.

cost of whom amounted to £2,421 3s. 4d., while the sole available revenue for the purpose amounted only to £1,333 6s. 8d., leaving an annual deficit of £1,087 16s. 8d. under this head alone. In addition to these charges he had to provide £568 15s. 10d. per annum for the garrisons of the castles of Flint and Rhyddlan, for which he was responsible as Chamberlain of Chester, while the garrisons at Denbigh and Beaumaris, amounting to 305 men, made an additional demand for £2,661 9s. 2d. per annum; but these were maintained at the cost of Henry Percy, to whom they had been granted. In addition to these financial difficulties in North Wales, a letter was received from Richard, brother of the Duke of York, dated from Hereford on the [1]9th of May, pressing for payment for his force, which had been under arms since April 6th, and refused to remain longer without pay "for anything that man can do."

The Prince, in his letter to the Council, pointed out that the rebels were well aware of his difficulties, and only waited for his men to disband in order to make a raid over the Border, with all the forces of North and South Wales; while Lampeter and Harlech must be relieved or provisioned, if at all, within ten days. Nevertheless, he had great hopes that if the war could be proceeded with vigorously, a better opportunity than the present had not yet presented itself; for the Welsh were being starved out, and were driven to their contemplated raid in sheer desperation, and in order to procure food to eat. On the [2]16th of June, the King sent orders to the Sheriffs of the four counties, Shropshire, Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, warning them to prepare to face the threatened danger.

In the concluding passages of the letter of the Prince of Wales we have only another instance of the grievous miscalculation and want of proper information, which is not surprising,

[1] Ord. Priv. Co., ii, 69. [2] Rym., viii, 304; Pat., 4 H. IV., 2, 19.

perhaps, in that age. The truth certainly is that at no previous time had the prospects of the Welsh insurgents been brighter, or the position of the English more precarious.

Edmund Mortimer had been a prisoner with Owen since his capture in the previous summer. No money was forthcoming for his ransom, and Henry declined to entertain any proposal on the subject. His brother-in-law, Henry Percy, requested the King to allow of his ransom, but Henry resolutely [1]refused, saying that he would not use the public money to strengthen the enemies of the country. It was soon evident that Henry had good reason for his refusal, for in the end of [2]November, 1402, Mortimer openly proclaimed his treason by marrying a daughter of Owen with great display. Hence he was honoured by the Bards with wondrous forecasts of the favour of heaven, and predictions of his coming greatness. The prophets were, as usual, wrong in their calculations. Owen's daughter bore to Mortimer three daughters and one son, whom he named [3]Lionel, but all the children died young except one little girl, and after a few years Edmund himself disappointed all the auguries, by dying miserably of famine during the siege of Harlech.

On [4]December 13th, 1402, Edmund Mortimer issued a manifesto from Mellenyth, addressed to "the gentles and commons of Radnor and Presteign," in which he told them that Oweyn Glyndor had raised a quarrel purporting if Richard II. were still alive to restore him to the throne, or, if not, that the young Earl of March, his nephew, should be made King of

[1] EULOG., iii, 396.

He (Henry) said to hym (Percy) nay, for he (Mortimer) was taken prisoner
By his (Mortimer's) consent and treson to his foo,
Whom he would not comfort for to overgoo
The prince his landes, ne his owne (Henry's) to destroy,
For aye he great trust he (Mortimer) should hym (Henry) noye.
HARDYNG, chap. ccii, p. 360.

[2] Circa festum S. Andreæ Apostoli (*i.e.*, November 30th).—EVES., 182.
[3] USK, 75. [4] ORIG. LET., II., i, 24.

England, but that Owen should "have his right in Wales." The cause, he said, seemed fair and just, and after due consideration he had decided to join with Owen; and he called upon his officers to keep his lands free from damage and his tenants supplied with provisions, but to take their orders from himself alone.

The effect of Mortimer's treason was speedily seen when the Welsh leaders opened operations in the ensuing summer. Leaving the English forces to march unopposed through the valleys of North Wales, Owen turned his attention to the garrisons in the strongholds of the South. In the latter part of June, while the Prince of Wales was pressing for funds at Shrewsbury, the Welsh, in Brecon and Radnorshire, [1]"were assured and assenting in one to the rebellion." Every day increased their boldness. They plundered and destroyed in the neighbourhood of Builth, burned the King's manor of Bryn Llys, and surrounded the stronghold of Brecon. On [2]Sunday, July 1st, a strong force under the Sheriff of Hereford attacked them and beat them off with a loss of 240 men, but they gathered again as soon as the Hereford men had withdrawn.

On Monday, July 2nd, the Welsh rose in Caermarthenshire, and surrounded the old princely castle of Dynevor, "that was the chef plas in old tyme," [3]vowing death to all the garrison. On the following day, Owen surprised the town of Llandovery. Leaving 300 men to watch the castle there, he moved on and burnt [4]Newtown (*i.e.*, Dynevor) and Llandeilofawr. From thence it was expected that they would march on Brecon, but he had other plans in view. He surrounded the rock fortress of Carrick Cennin. John Skydmere, who had had the custody of the castle since [5]May 2nd of the previous year, wrote on

[1] See letter of John Fairford, Receiver of Brecon (dated July 7th, 1403), in ROY. LET., i, 141. [2] See the Sheriff's letter (dated July 7th), *Ibid*, i, 146. [3] "Thai han imad har avow that thai well al gat have owes dede thryn."—ORIG. LET., II., i, 15. [4] ROY. LET., i, 150. [5] TYLER, i, 388.

[1]July 5th that "no man may pas by no wey hennes." On Wednesday, July 4th, "all Caermarthenshire, Kidwelly, Carnwaltham, and Yskenyn" had joined Owen. That night he slept in the castle of Dryslwyn, and on the following day he moved forward against Caermarthen. After a feeble [2]resistance the town was taken (Friday, [3]July 6th) and burnt; fifty persons were killed, and the Constable Wigmore surrendered the castle. About the same time, the castle of Emlyn, on the Borders of Cardigan, surrendered; [4]Llanstephan Castle, on Caermarthen Bay, was captured, and many of the landowners (*"moni gentils"*) came forward in person to join the rebellion.

Anticipating little or no opposition in his rear, where the country was [5]flooded and the inhabitants generally [6]favourable to him, Owen moved with 8,240 spearmen, "such as thei wer," to reduce the castle of Kidwelly; but hearing that a strong force out of Pembrokeshire, under Thomas, Baron Carew, was advancing to meet him, he rested in the evening of Monday, July 9th, at St. Clare, after "destroying all the country about."

Finding himself confronted by a large and well-armed force, Owen attempted to treat with [7]Carew, in the hope that he might thus secure without opposition his share in the spoil of Caermarthen. Tuesday, July 10th, was spent in negociation, and Owen passed that night at Llaugharne, with the intention of slipping past Carew [8]to the hills, and so surrounding him.

[1] ORIG. LET., II., i, 19. [2] ROY. LET., i, 150. PELLS ROLL (June 26th, 1406), records payment of a sum to the burgesses and goodmen of Caermarthen, in mitigation of the losses which they had sustained.—TYLER, i, 184. [3] ORIG. LET., II., i, 19 (*i.e.*, before July 7th, the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas, of Canterbury).—See SIMPSON'S HIST. ST. PAUL'S, xix; LIB. CUST., ii, 843. [4] ROT. VIAG., 27. It had been recovered by John Penrees before September 24th. [5] "Ils furent distourbez par un cretyn de Ewe."—ROY. LET., i, 150. [6] "He halt hym siker of al the castell and townes in Kedewelly and Gowerslonde and Glamorgan, for the same cuntrees had undertake the seges of hem til thei ben wonnen."—ORIG. LET., II., i, 20. [7] "Zef so that the Baron and he accordyth in tretys that a tornyth azein to Kermardin for hys part of the godes and Res Duy is part." [8] "To the Hull" (*i.e.*, "the hill").—ORIG. LET., II., i, 22. Cf. "Homeldon Hul," in ANN., 366.

For this purpose he sent out 700 men to reconnoitre and see if the way were clear, but they were cut off by [1]Carew and killed to a man (Thursday, July 12th, 1403).

Foiled in his attempt, Owen drew back into Caermarthen, the home of Merlin and the ancient capital of the Princes of the South. Here he sent for one Hopkyn ap Thomas of Gower, who was noted for his skill in interpreting "the Prophecy." Of him he enquired as to his future. But the seer told him that he should soon be captured under a black banner in the country between Caermarthen and Gower. At least, this story was readily believed by the panic-stricken English on the Border, who circulated the wildest rumours in their terror and alarm.

Letters describing the desperate position of affairs were forwarded to London. On the [2]8th of July, Richard Kyngeston, Archdeacon of Hereford, and [3]Dean of Windsor, wrote to the King from Hereford, saying that the country was lost unless he came at once, in person, "riding night and day," and his old

[1] Carew was subsequently rewarded with a grant of Narberth Castle, in Pembrokeshire, besides the town of St. Clare and a large tract of land in Caermarthenshire (the commote of Tray or Trayne) which formerly belonged to Sir Edmund Mortimer.—PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 24, dated April 24th, 1404. [2] ORIG. LET., II., i, 17. [3] LE NEVE (p. 118) has shown that he resigned his office as Archdeacon of Hereford before January 22nd, 1404. In the list of Deans of Windsor, LE NEVE gives Thomas (or ? Richard) Kingestone Canon of Windsor, 1402; Dean, 1412; but HARDY (iii, 372, 382) quotes PAT. ROLLS to show that he was appointed Canon of Windsor February 6th, 1399, and resigned on being made Dean of Windsor 1402 (not 1420, as on p. 372). He already signs himself Dean of Windsor, September 3rd, 1403 (in ROY. LET., i, 159). Moreover, he is called "Dean of our Chapel," May 10th, 1400, when he received a grant of all the swans on the river Thames between Gravesend and Oxford Bridge (PAT., 1 H. IV., 7, 37); yet PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 20 (dated May 8th, 1402), addresses him as Archdeacon of Hereford only; and PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 11 (dated July 25th, 1402), contains his appointment to the Deanery of the King's Chapel, at Windsor. In the following March 10th, 1403, he is spoken of as "late Dean of our Chapel infra hospitium," and gives an inventory of the effects in the Chapel received from his predecessor, John Door (PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 27). If these dates are decisive, we shall have to assign the letter, dated September 3rd, to the year 1402.

confidant and friend, Sir [1]Hugh de Waterton, added his urgent advice to the like effect. But before these letters could reach him, Henry had already decided that his presence was certainly needed in the field.

[1] See his letter, dated Friday (probably July 13th, 1403), in Roy. Let., i, 149.

CHAPTER XXV

THE BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY

TOWARDS the end of May, 1403, the Earl of Northumberland had sent letters to the King from the North, informing him of his difficulties in Scotland, and on [1]May 30th he despatched another formal letter from Newcastle to the Council, warning them that from his arrangement made at Ormiston, he expected that a great effort would be made by the Scots to take the field in force, and relieve the besieged places, before August 1st. He also forwarded news that he had reason to believe that the Welsh and the French were co-operating with the Scots, and that all three might be expected to make a supreme, simultaneous effort about the month of July. To meet this apprehended danger, he prayed that money might be forwarded to him by the following June 24th.

To this the King replied that he considered that the Earl ought to be strong enough to hold his own without additional help, but that, nevertheless, he had ordered that "a certain sum of money" should be sent without delay, but he specified neither the amount nor the probable date of payment. To this the Earl replied in a letter dated from [2]Healaugh, near Tadcaster, June 26th, urging that the time was drawing very near, and that if the payment were not made very speedily there was every chance "that the good renown of the chivalry of your realm will not be kept in that place" (*i.e.*, Ormiston), and that dishonour and disaster would fall upon him and his son, "who are your loyal lieges." But he could not believe that such was

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 203. [2] *Ibid*, i, 204.

the King's pleasure. He could have understood the King's unwillingness to forward any more help, if it had been true, as had been falsely represented, that he and his son had already received £60,000 since the King's coronation. But this was altogether above the mark, and there were still more than £20,000 due to him of this sum. He concluded with all good wishes of respect and devotion, and signed himself "your Mathathias," a playful sobriquet which seems to have been in [1]common use between them; perhaps in reference to the prowess and patriotism of himself, his brother, and his sons, as a second family of Maccabees.

In presence of the expected combination of dangers, the King resolved first to proceed in person to Scotland, to give the [2]encouragement and assistance of his presence to the Earl of Northumberland in the coming battle, and afterwards to remove in all haste to Wales, there to remain and establish himself *(pour y demourer et tenir nre. houstel)* till the rebellion should be crushed. At first, the [3]Earl of Northumberland had discouraged his proposal to proceed North, but afterwards he agreed that it might be of advantage.

On the 10th of July, 1403, while the Welsh were negociating with the only band of English who ventured to face them in Caermarthenshire, Henry was at Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire, on his way to Scotland, from which place he addressed a [4]letter to his Council, ordering them to send £1,000 with all speed to the Prince of Wales, at Shrewsbury, to pay the wages of his men, and prevent them from disbanding as they threatened to do. [5]On the following day he appears to

[1] See also letter in ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 103. [2] "Pour y donner aide et confort a nos treschs. et foialx cousins le Conte de Northumberland et Henry son filz." [3] ANN., 361. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 206. This letter refers to the two letters written by the Prince (dated Shrewsbury, May 15th and 30th), and fixes the year without doubt, viz.: 1403. [5] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 11, dated Lichfield, July 11th, 1403.

have moved to Lichfield. But now (as frequently before) he was to the last unaware of the yawning danger that was opening at his very feet. In a day or two after writing his last letter he [1]received news that the Earl of Northumberland and his son were in open revolt, that the Earl had collected a large force in the North, and that Henry Percy had issued proclamations in the county of Chester, where his influence had previously been very great, in which he spoke of the King as "Henry of Lancaster," and asserted that King Richard was still alive. He heard also that Percy was already on his way to join the rebels in Wales, accompanied by the Earl of Douglas and other Scottish nobles, whom he had released from their captivity, and that [2]Thomas Percy, Earl of Worcester, whom the King had trusted as guardian of the Prince of Wales, had secretly removed his treasure from London, and from the Prince's headquarters at Shrewsbury, and had already passed over, with many of the troops under his command, to join the rebellion of his brother and his nephew.

This astounding news made Henry reverse his plans. At first [3]he seems to have thought of returning to the capital (as he had done from Windsor in a previous emergency), there to collect troops for an advance as circumstances should require; but from this course he was dissuaded by the Scotch Earl of March, who was with him and advised an instant advance, even though inadequately prepared, to strike the rebels before time should give them a stronger footing. Turning westward at once, he reached Burton-on-Trent by Monday, July 16th, whence he issued a [4]proclamation to the Sheriffs of Oxford, Bedford, Buckingham, Warwick, Leicester, Northampton, Rutland, Nottingham, Stafford, Derby, and Lincolnshire, calling on them to assemble the muster of their respective counties, and

[1] RYM., viii, 319. [2] ANN., 361. [3] *Ibid*, 364. [4] RYM., viii, 313; ROT. VIAG., 23.

advance to meet him with all speed, wherever he might be, and if in the meantime they met any who were suspected of favouring the rebellion, to arrest them, and keep them secured until further orders.

The following morning, Tuesday, July 17th, he [1]wrote to the Council, in London, informing them that, acting on the advice of such Knights and others as were with him, he had decided to issue an urgent request under his Privy Seal to the lords spiritual and temporal for advances of money, and he forwarded to London a sealed copy of the proposed letter, for the formal approval of the Council. He assured them that he was quite confident that he was strong enough to resist any combination of his enemies, and he stated his wish that every member of the Council would hasten to join him, except the Treasurer, who should remain in London, to receive advances and forward them in all haste for his present great necessity. The [2]same day he moved again to Lichfield. On the 18th, the Council issued notices to the Sheriffs of London, Middlesex, Essex, and Hertford, to hasten with their forces to join the King on the Marches of Wales, with orders to assure the people that none need feel alarm, though all must be ready for self-defence. Henry then moved forward in all speed to join his son at Shrewsbury, only to find that Henry Percy, with a [3]force estimated at 14,000 men, was already close to the gates, [4]demanding food and shelter from the townspeople.

To many of the Council the startling news of the insurrection must have come with a suddenness which would take them altogether by surprise, and in a contemporary English account it is represented as a [5]sudden and mysterious event which could not be explained; but Henry, at any rate, was not altogether

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 207. [2] RYM., viii, 314; CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 6. [3] OTT., 240. [4] ANN., 364. [5] "Repente, nescitur quo spiritu et clam confœderatis sibi plurimis hostis apparuit."—*Ibid*, 361.

taken unawares, and although we have not much detail as to the preliminaries of the rebellion, we have here and there a hint, or a demonstrated fact, which throws some light upon the mystery.

In the previous summer, the nation could not have failed to notice the contrast between the brilliant victories of the Percies in the North and the miserable retreat of the King from Wales. In the Parliament of October, 1402, the chief laurels were given to the Earl of Northumberland, while the King was the mere figurehead to register the triumphs of the northern Earl. If Hotspur had slain his thousands, Henry had not even one poor Welsh captive to show. The absence of the great Earl of Douglas from the parade of prisoners could not fail to give rise to remark. The Scotch Earl was, in fact, detained in the North by Henry Percy, who claimed him as his captive; and when Henry sent requiring that Douglas should be sent to London, Henry Percy [1]evaded the demand, asserting that the Earl was his prisoner and not the King's, but that he would himself come before the King in person, and make his explanation. Within six days Percy presented himself, accordingly, before the King, and an angry interview was the consequence. When Percy entered, the King abruptly asked whether he had brought Douglas with him. High words ensued. Hotspur requested that his brother-in-law, Edward Mortimer, should be allowed to ransom himself, as Lord Grey had done. Henry angrily refused, saying that he would not have money going out of the country to help his enemies (*i.e.*, the Welsh). "Shall the man expose himself to danger for your sake," said Hotspur, "and you refuse to help him in his captivity?" To this the King replied that Mortimer was a traitor, who had yielded himself, [2]"by his consent and treason," to the Welsh. "And you are a traitor," he said, taunting

[1] WAUR., 4, 6, 1, p. 57. [2] HARDYNG, 360.

Hotspur that he had not captured Owen once when he had the opportunity, referring to some event of [1]which we have now no knowledge. With this he [2]struck him in the face and drew his sword on him. "Not here," said Hotspur, "but in the field!" and so they parted. I have taken the particulars of this interview from the accounts of contemporary [3]English and French chroniclers, and from the rhymer Hardyng, who was an intimate friend of Hotspur, and was with him as his page at the time of his death.

After this followed the open treason of Mortimer, and for seven months it seemed as if the quarrel were forgotten. Henry granted to the Percies the immense tract of land in Scotland, and though dissatisfaction was certainly shown about the matter of the prisoners, yet arrangements were made for an amicable settlement. But such an injury, though kept a secret from all, could not be forgotten, and the gathering storms in France and Wales seemed likely soon to break the frail foundations of Henry's throne. Though outwardly loyal, the Earl of Northumberland, urged by his fiery son, was secretly devising again to play the kingmaker, and this time to secure for himself a more substantial share of the plunder than before.

Unknown to Henry, he entered into a [4]secret understanding with Owen and Mortimer, who had already arranged to upset the King and put the [5]young Earl of March on the throne of England, leaving Wales as an independent Principality, under Owen and his successors. This is not to be confounded with the famous Tripartite Convention sealed at the house of the Archdeacon of Bangor, which document was not signed till the

[1] Except, perhaps, when Percy was treating in confidence for the release of Mortimer, and for peace between Owen and the King. This is referred to in the defiance given in HARDYNG, p. 353. [2] "Donna au dit de Persi ung grant soufflet."—WAUR., 57. [3] EULOGIUM HISTORIARUM and WAURIN. [4] One of the messengers, John Morys, in the service of the Earl of Worcester, was still with Owen as late as October 3rd following.—PAT., 5 H. IV., 135. [5] ORIG. LET., II., i, 24.

year [1] 1405, after the conclusion of the alliance between Owen and the French. Many English Lords, including the arch-plotter the [2] Duke of York, secretly favoured the movement; while the clergy, especially in the North of England, did little to oppose the spread of disaffection, countenanced as it was by the thinly-veiled encouragement of [3] Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, and the powerful influence of the Prince-Bishop of Durham, who fled to France after the battle, and was offered a safe asylum by Charles VI. [4] "if he feared to return to England;" while even the loyalty of the [5] Archbishop of Canterbury did not escape suspicion.

The disaffected lost no opportunity of urging Henry Percy to make a stand in the name of the young Earl of March. To sound the feeling of the country, and to avert suspicion while their plans were preparing, the Earl of Northumberland and his son wrote letters to many of the disaffected nobles and other leading men, [6] explaining that they had no disloyal motives against the King. Their [7] forces were collecting to meet the attacks of the Scots, and to [8] fulfil their pledged engagements at Cocklaw and Ormiston, and they were only taking ordinary precautions to secure themselves against the calumnies of certain of their enemies, who had so poisoned the mind of the King against them that they dared not venture into his presence; but they had resolved that with the help of their friends, the Prelates and Barons of the kingdom, they would make an effort to reform the administration of the country, and establish the influence of better Counsellors, who would see that the taxes and customs granted to the King should be put to the use for which they were intended, and not be wasted for purposes useless, or worse

[1] *i.e.*, February 28th.—CHRON. GILES, p. 39; TYLER, i, 153. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 524. SCOTICHRON. (xv, 17) names also the Earls of Stafford (?) and Arundel. [3] "Be goode advyse and counseill of Maister Richard Scrope."—HARDYNG, 351. [4] TILLET, 313. [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 524. [6] ANN., 361. [7] EULOG., iii, 396. [8] SCOTICHRON., xv, 17.

than useless, as they were now. Many of the Barons encouraged them and sent written promises of support. These letters were afterwards deposited in Warkworth Castle, and were seen there by [1]Hardyng, when he was Constable of the castle under Sir Robert Umfraville.

When news of these complaints came to Henry's ears, he sought to counteract them by every means in his power. He also wrote letters to those who seemed to share the disaffection of the Percies, denying that he had any such feeling as they attributed to him. He was prepared to prove that most of the grant intended for them, as Wardens of the March of Scotland, had been actually paid for that purpose, and that their statements in reference to the taxes were not correct. He had appointed Commissioners to consider all claims in reference to the prisoners at Humbledon. He had granted to the Earl the best part of the Lowlands of Scotland, and he proposed to go northward in person to smooth over the difficulties that might arise. The Earl, as we have seen, at first objected that the King's presence was not necessary, but Henry maintained his purpose and had actually started on his way.

Henry Percy, seeing that the crisis was at hand, moved southward, attended by [2]160 mounted followers. He had previously released the Earl of Douglas and [3]about twenty of his other Scottish prisoners, and these all accompanied him. They passed through Yorkshire, where the Archbishop and many of the clergy favoured the movement, and thence through [4]Lancashire towards Cheshire, where Henry Percy had great influence. A noted [5]hermit followed with them who had foretold the fall of Richard, and was ready to do duty with his prophecies again. The party reached Chester on Monday,

[1] "The lordes all of England had hym hight."—HARDYNG, 361. [2] "Eight score horse."—MS. LANDS., 200 *f*, 204 *b*, quoted in HARDYNG, Pref. iii. [3] WYNTOWN, ii, 408. [4] MS. HARL., 1989, fol. 381, quoted in TRAIS., 280. [5] EULOG. iii, 397; ANN., 372.

July 9th, and Percy rested at the house of [1]Petronilla Clark, whose son, John Kyngesley, was among his most devoted supporters. Many joined them from Wales and Cheshire. The parsons of [2]Rostherne, Hawarden, Pulford, Doddlestone, Hanley, and Davenham, were with them, besides many Beestons and Leighs and Wenningtons, and other great Cheshire names. The rumour was spread that Richard was indeed alive, and was coming at last with the army of the Percies to claim his right. Those who were loyal to his memory might come themselves to join the muster at Chester, [3]where they should see their very King Richard in the castle, or within a week they might see him with the Earl of Northumberland, surrounded by a great army, at [4]Sandyway, on the highroad between Northwich and the Forest.

In a few days Percy found himself at the head of a [5]small army of seemingly enthusiastic followers. Many came wearing the white hart, the badge of the late King Richard. Others had been entrapped into leaving their farms at the bidding of their feudal chiefs, not knowing what service might be required of them. The tenants of [6]Lord Lestrange, in the hundred of Ellesmere and the townships of Hampton Culmere and Hampton Wode, had been summoned by the steward, John Kynaston, to attend their Lord in the King's presence. They followed without question as far as a place called Mudle, in Shropshire. Not finding Lord Lestrange, they wished to return home; but they were bullied by the steward and forcibly detained by Henry Percy, under threats that they would be drawn, beheaded, or hanged. At Lichfield the muster was complete.

And here all disguise as to the real nature of the movement was thrown aside. Richard was known to be dead. Percy

[1] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 11. [2] *Ibid*, 2, 7. [3] ANN., 363. [4] TRAIS., 285. "Ultra forestam de Delamar apud le Sendyweye." [5] EULOG., iii, 396. [6] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 12.

proclaimed that he, as one of those who had before helped Henry to the throne, now saw his mistake, and meant to set himself right. The rightful heir was Edmund, the young Earl of March, and a formal defiance was [1]ready, in which the Earls of Northumberland and Worcester, and Henry Percy, renounced their allegiance to King Henry, charging him with perjury and lying, in that :—

(1) He had sworn to them at Doncaster, in 1399, that he would not claim the kingdom, but only his inheritance and lands, but that Richard should still reign under the control of a Council of Prelates and Barons ; yet he had imprisoned him, taken his crown, and starved him to death in Pontefract, after fifteen days and nights of hunger, thirst, and cold.

(2) He had promised not to exact taxation from the clergy and people, except with the advice of the three estates in Parliament, and only for great emergencies.

(3) After swearing to maintain the laws, he had ordered his Sheriffs in every county to return to Parliament such Knights only as would favour his wishes.

(4) He had refused to ransom Edmund Mortimer from captivity, and had kept the young Earl of March from his rightful succession to the throne.

For all these reasons they, as the true Protectors of the Commonwealth, defied Henry and his party as Destroyers of it, Traitors, Invaders, Oppressors, and Violators, and vowed with God's help to make good their words by battle.

It had been arranged that Owen should meet them with an army of Welshmen on the "gentle Severn's sedgy bank." They moved westward, therefore, and were before Shrewsbury about the 19th or 20th of July. Here they demanded food, while the army halted for a short rest. Admission being refused, they proceeded to beset the town.

1 HARDYNG, 351.

Thinking at first that the King would wait at Burton till his troops had collected, they lay [1]carelessly about the town, and took no pains to intercept him in his progress west. Thus King Henry entered Shrewsbury without opposition, and Hotspur drew up his army in front of the hamlet of Berwick, in the plain about two miles to the north-west. The fields between were ripening with their autumn crops, and many acres were covered with tangled peas and vetches.

The numbers of the contending armies are estimated with all the usual extremes of variation. On the side of the Percies, a [2]French writer gives 24,000 archers and 2,000 lances. A [3]Scotch chronicle gives 20,000 as the total; while the most sober [4]English chronicler states the total at 14,000 men, including archers from [5]Cheshire, Derby, and Flint, the former of whom were reckoned among the best in the country. On the King's side, the numbers are not given by any contemporary writer. The nearest approach to a contemporary statement is given in the French writer Waurin, who had his [6]information "from notable men, who said that they had seen Knights who certified that they had seen this thing." He estimates that Henry had an army of 60,000 men, including 26,000 archers and 3,000 men-at-arms; but his figures may be safely set aside as fabulous, together with the other details that he gives of the battle. The Scotch rhymer [7]Wyntown, gives the numbers as over 30,000. It is more than likely that the King had to rely upon such musters as had been called out in the spring to follow the Prince in defending the Marches, and who were already clamouring for arrears of pay. Fortunately for Henry,

[1] "Securus obsedit villam."—ANN., 364. [2] WAUR., iv, 6, 2, 59.

[3] "Wyth twenty thousand Ynglis men
At Schrewis-bery gadryte then."—WYNTOWN, ii, 407.

[4] OTT., 241. [5] RYM., viii, 320. [6] WAUR., iv, 6, 2, 62.

[7] "And thretty thousand or ma than
Wes wyth ye King of Inglendis men."—WYNTOWN, ii, 407.

their demands had been to some extent satisfied. The [1]Pell Records contain an entry dated July 17th, 1403, recording the payment of £8,108 2s. for wages, to 4 Barons, 20 Knights, 476 Esquires, and 2,500 archers (3,000 men in all), though this must refer to money previously paid and only recently enrolled. It is true that in his letter from Burton, on the 17th July, the King had assured the Council that he [2]was "strong enough against all the disaffected." But only a week previously he had written urging the desperate condition of the army with the Prince at Shrewsbury; and, in the meantime, the Sheriffs of the midland counties had not yet had time to answer the summons issued four days before [3](July 16th), and the Treasurer had as yet no means of forwarding the money asked for on the previous Tuesday (July 17th).

It was now Friday night (July 20th), and it was understood that the following Monday (23rd) had been appointed among the rebels themselves for their grand attack. To delay would be to give Hotspur a chance of strengthening himself by supports from the Welsh on the one side and his father on the other. On the advice of George Dunbar, the Scotch Earl of March, Henry decided to fight the following day.

Early on [4]Saturday, July 21st, 1403 (the Feast of St. Praxedes, or the Eve of St. Mary Magdalene) the King drew up his army in three divisions. That in the front was under the command of the young Earl of Stafford, while the King himself and the Prince of Wales took command of the other two. The spot on which the battle raged is variously called [5]Haytleyfield, in Albrighton Hussey, or [6]Husseyfield, or [7]Bullfield, in the town-

[1] Quoted in TYLER, i, 139. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 208. [3] RYM., viii, 313. [4] HIST. CROYL., 495. [5] PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 2, quoted in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, liii. CARTE (ii, 659) calls it "Hartlefield near Berwick." [6] "In bello de Husifelde"—ex offic. remorator. thesaur. in Scacc.—5 H. IV., 19, 9, quoted in OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, i, 186; add PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 31. [7] "Apud bellum de Bolefield in villa de Harlescot." Inquis. ad quod Damnum 4 H. V —JOHN MASSY DE TATTON.

ship of Harlescot; but these are only different local designations for parts of the same ground, near the village of Berwick, and most of the official references to the battle refer to it as having been fought [1] "in the plain near Shrewsbury."

To the last, however, the King shrank from accepting battle. Early in the day, he sent forward Thomas Prestbury, Abbot of Shrewsbury, offering terms to the rebels if they would disperse, and asking a statement of their grievances, which might be remedied if they were fairly discussed. Or, if Percy preferred to communicate them privately, he begged him to send some one whom he could trust, and he should have every consideration paid to him.

We know, indeed, of one instance, and there may have been others, where some of the rebels grew fainthearted at the sight of battle and made their peace in time. [2] Richard Horkesley (known sometimes as Richard Ramkyn), when he saw the royal standard displayed, crossed over and joined the King's army, and was afterwards suitably rewarded.

But for the Percies matters had now gone too far, and reconciliation was impossible. The defiance had been published, and had been sent to the King on the field of battle by two squires, [3] Thomas Knayton and Roger Salvayn. In answer to Henry's overtures, the Earl of Worcester crossed to the royal army, and the message with which he was charged put an end to all hope of compromise. "You rob the country every year," he said, "and always say that you have nothing—your Treasurer has nothing—you make no payments—keep no house—you are not the rightful heir!" The King answered that he took the taxes for the government of the country, and that he had been chosen King by the country. "Put yourselves in my hand," he said, "and trust to my favour."

[1] "In campo prope Salop." [2] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 5 (July 30th, 1405), records his pardon and reward. [3] HARDYNG, 352.

"We cannot trust you," they said.

"Then on you must rest the blood shed this day, and not on me," said the King. [1]"Forward banner! *(En avant baner!)*" and shortly after midday the battle was begun.

It raged fiercely till nightfall. The Chester archers opened with a furious hail, and 4,000 of the royal troops broke in confusion. Percy and Douglas pressed on in the thickest of the fight, seeking the King. Twice in the fury of their attack they made for their enemy, and in the rush and the dust cut down some foremost Knight, and then the cry went up, "Henry Percy, King!" But the King reappeared upon the field, and the deadly wavering struggle never slacked. The Chester men were cut to pieces, 200 of them being left dead. The [2]Prince of Wales was wounded in the face. The Earl of Stafford was killed. Late in the day Henry Percy was surrounded, and cut down by an unknown hand; the Earls of Douglas and Worcester were taken alive; and the whole rebel army turned and fled. But so scattered was the field that when night fell, and the two armies separated, neither knew which had the victory, and they lay down "in mixed heaps, weary, and beaten, and bleeding."

Such was the end of this horrible day, [3]"one of the wyrste bataylys that ever came to Inglonde, and unkyndyst;" a day [4]"rather to be celebrated with teares than triumphs," fought out between Englishmen with a fierceness hitherto unequalled, and a slaughter hitherto unknown. Much of the account in the "Annales" was supplied by a [5]squire of the Duchess of Norfolk, who was present in the battle. Being wounded, he crawled on his hands and knees under a hedge, weighed down by his armour and panting for air. That night the moon was

[1] EULOG., 3, 397. Cf. "And by his baner was born his pynoun."—CHAUCER, Knight's Tale, 120. [2] ELMHAM, ch. iii. [3] GREGORY CHRON., 103. [4] SPEED, 629. [5] ANN., 370. An early picture of the battle (temp. Ed. IV.) appears in the BEAUCHAMP MS., COTT. JUL. E., iv, 201; figured in STRUTT, ii, plate xiii.

[1]eclipsed from half-past eight till midnight. Throughout the night the [2]"pilours," or strippers, prowled among the bodies, despatching the wounded and stripping the dead. On the King's side, the Earl of Stafford and nine Knights were killed, and an untold number of men. It is estimated that 1,600 were left dead on the field; while 3,000 were wounded, many of whom subsequently died of their wounds. The [3]Scotch chronicler puts the number of dead on both sides at 7,000 or 8,000.

Messengers were at once despatched throughout the kingdom, [4]announcing the death of Hotspur and the capture of the Earl of Worcester; and instructions were sent to the keepers of the various [5]seaports to stop all persons from leaving the country until further orders.

On the following day the bodies of the dead were collected for burial. They [6]were found to cover a space of over three miles. Many were buried where they fell, but most of them were heaped together in a great pit, close to the spot where the church now stands. When the corpse of Hotspur was found it

[1] The eclipse is recorded in L'ART DE VERIFIER, vol. i, 77, under date August 2nd, 10-30 p.m. Correcting the calendar by the necessary twelve days, this date will correspond with July 21st. From independent calculations (kindly supplied by the Rev. J. C. Bates, of Castleton Moor, Rochdale), it appears that the eclipse was total and lasted from 8-30 till 11-58, the middle falling about 10-14 p.m. [2] "The pilours diden businesse and cure."—CHAUCER, Knight's Tale, 149.

[3] "And sewyn or aucht thousand men
Slane into that Feild ware then."—WYNTOWN, ii, 409.

[4] Payments for these messengers are entered in PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 4 H. IV., PASCH., under date July 17th, 1403, showing that the copying clerks in the Exchequer were not absolutely free from the risk of mistake. The entry occurs with others in the middle of the Roll, where there is always a long blank, which may have been used for the enrolment of sundries, without special regard to date. Under the very same date occurs a payment of £666 13s. 4d. to the Earl of Northumberland and Henry Percy for keeping the March of Scotland. [5] Not the "ferries and passages of the river," as TYLER, i, 197. [6] "Quorum corpora circa tria miliaria et ultra in eodem campo et circiter eundem campum jacent humata"—Extract from Charter to College of Battlefield, December 5th, 1446, in OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, i, 194.

was said that the King shed tears over it, grieving for his death. The [1]body was at first given into the charge of Lord Furnival, and was by him solemnly buried in the neighbouring chapel of Whitchurch; but after a day or two it was disinterred from motives of policy, and forwarded to [2]Shrewsbury, where it was rubbed in salt and [3]placed erect between two millstones, by the side of the pillory *(juxta collistrigium)* in the open street. Here it remained for a while in a sitting posture, guarded by armed sentries, that all might see that Henry Percy was dead, lest afterwards the King should be plagued with duplicates of Hotspur, as he had been before by counterfeits of Richard. [4]The head was then cut off and sent to be fixed on the gates of York; the body was quartered, and the [5]parts were sent to be hung above the gates of London, Bristol, Newcastle, and Chester.

On Monday, July 23rd, the Earl of Worcester, Sir Richard Venables, Baron of Kinderton, and Sir Richard Vernon, all of whom had been taken prisoners in the battle, were summarily convicted of treason and beheaded. The head of the Earl of Worcester was sent forward [6]to be set up on London Bridge, where it was exhibited, together with those of Vernon and Venables, until [7]December 18th, on which day it was taken down and sent to be buried with the headless body in the Abbey Church of St. Peter, at Shrewsbury.

On the field, [8]Henry offered thanks for his victory, and vowed to build a hospice or cell [9]"on behalf of the souls of the slain." This vow was carried into effect in [10]1409, when two acres of land on the battlefield were granted for building and endowing a chapel thereon, with daily mass for the souls of

[1] Scrope's Manifesto, in ANGL. SACRA, ii, 366; also TRAIS., 285. [2] STOW, 329. [3] CHRON. LOND., 88. [4] WYNTOWN (ii, 409) says: "a lym of him." [5] ROT. VIAG. (22) contains the order, dated Lichfield, July 26th, 1403. [6] See instructions to the Mayor and Sheriffs (dated Lichfield, July 25th, 1403), *Ibid*, 22; RYM., viii, 320. [7] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 25. [8] WAUR., 66. [9] USK, 80. [10] See PAT., 10 H. IV., 1, 2, quoted in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, liii.

those who fell. The [1]church is dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and is called Battlefield to this day.

The Prince of Wales, being [2]disabled by his wound, was left at Shrewsbury, with powers to punish or pardon at his discretion the rebels in Chester, Denbigh, and Flint, and the King himself moved out with his army to meet the Earl of Northumberland.

[1] Ross, the antiquarian (temp. H. VI.), calls it: "collegium certorum capellanorum sub uno gardiano."—HIST. REG. ANGL., 207. [2] ROT. VIAG. 27 (dated Shrewsbury, July 23rd), states that the Prince is *not able* (non potest) to proceed to Wales.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SUBMISSION OF EARL PERCY.

ON the [1]22nd of July (immediately after the battle), orders had been issued to the Earl of Westmoreland, calling upon him to raise the forces of Northumberland and Yorkshire, to advance against the Earl of Northumberland, and (if he were captured) to bring him alive into the King's presence, while [2]other levies were to meet at Pontefract and bar his passage southward. On the [3]25th of July, the King was at Stafford, and passed through [4]Lichfield (July 26th to 28th), Derby (July 28th), Nottingham (July 29th to 31st), Mansfield (August 1st), and Doncaster (August 2nd), to Pontefract, where he spent three days (August 4th, 5th, and 6th).

The Earl of Northumberland was in the neighbourhood of Tadcaster, where he had collected a large force intending to move down to the assistance of his son; but finding that the Earl of Westmoreland was raising the loyal troops of the North in his rear, he thought it [5]prudent to retire northward, rather than run the risk of being intercepted and cut off from his influence in his own county. Being closely pursued by the royal troops, he presented himself at Newcastle-on-Tyne. But the burgesses, having news of the failure at Shrewsbury, and seeing that the Earl of Westmoreland was following in pursuit, closed their gates, refusing to admit him, except he came

[1] RYM., viii, 319. [2] ROT. VIAG., 25, dated Burton-on-Trent, July 27th.
[3] RYM., viii, 320, 321. [4] See PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, mm. 3, 5, 10, 11, 12, 17.
[5] Northumberland, who, like a spring-taught snayle,
Was crawling to have Nibbled the fresh leafe,
Found the Aire raw, and shrinkes into his shell.
DANIEL-TRINARCHORDIA, H. IV., 248, p. 63.

accompanied by his own private retinue of servants only. The Earl by this time had heard of the defeat and death of his son, and seeing that further opposition was hopeless he agreed to the conditions, and entered Newcastle with a few personal attendants, leaving his fighting men without. While the Earl was resting, his troops, indignant at their treatment, made an assault upon the walls. But the townspeople beat them off, and on the following morning the Earl dismissed them to their homes, while he himself withdrew to Warkworth, and all show of resistance was at an end.

At Warkworth, he received a letter from the King, urging him with all moderation to submit, and promising to receive him [1]back into favour, if he would come without armed followers to a personal interview at York. The King, meantime, issued an order from Pontefract (dated [2]August 4th), forbidding his troops to plunder the property of the Earl's tenants in the North, and then moved forward [3]through Rothwell, reaching York on [4]the 8th of August, where he remained until the 13th.

On Saturday, August 11th (the day after St. Lawrence's Day), he was met by the Earl in York. The poor old man was quite [5]broken down. His eyes then saw the ghastly head of his favourite son on the gates, and he had come to yield himself to the clemency of the benefactor and friend, whom he had set up and now had wished to destroy. The King received him coldly, and the welcome that had before existed between the friends could never now be renewed. The Earl excused himself from any share in the rising, and laid all the blame upon

[1] "In quibus repromisit indemnitatem."—ANN., 372. "Hit like to Zowre Hynesse that al graceles sholde I nat go."—ROT. PARL., iii, 524. [2] RYM., viii, 321; CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 2. [3] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 7. [4] *Ibid*, 2, contains documents, dated York, August 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 13th (mm. 10, 12, 15), [5] "My comyng to zowre worshipful presence into Zork of my free will, be zowre goodly letters where I put me in zowre grace as that I naght have kept zowre lowys and statutys as ligeance askyth."—ROT. PARL., iii, 524.

his son, who, he said, had acted without his consent. The [1]King had previously given him an assurance on oath, that he should suffer no harm, until he had had an opportunity to answer for himself before the Parliament, and he kept his word. He promised him his life and an honourable maintenance, but refused him his liberty, and the two returned together to Pontefract, on the 14th of August.

Before leaving York, the King was accosted by the hermit, whose reputation for soothsaying stood high, because he had predicted the disasters that had befallen Richard, and whose saintliness was emphasized by bare feet, hair shirt, and wonderful fasting. Undaunted by the recent failure, he approached the King and began to upbraid him, but Henry would have none of it, and the poor wretch's head was struck off as a traitor.

At Pontefract, the King and the Earl entered into an arrangement that the [2]castles of Berwick, Cockermouth (where some of the Scottish prisoners, including Murdoch, Earl of Fife, were still imprisoned), Alnwick, Warkworth, Prudhoe (on the Tyne), and Langlee (? Lambley, or Lumley, on the Wear, or Lantley, above Hexham, on the South Tyne), should be kept and governed by officers appointed by the King. The Earl was then removed, and kept under close guard at [3]Baginton, near Coventry. He was deprived of his office of Constable, which, with all its emoluments, was now [4]conferred upon the King's third son, Prince John, a boy fourteen years of age. The Prince had already been appointed [5]Warden of Berwick and of the East March, [6]with power over the Scottish prisoners there

[1] EULOG., iii, 398. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 212, 214. [3] *Ibid*, i, 216.

"Whom then he putte to holde in sore prisone,
With two menne of his own, in Bagynton."

HARDYNG, cciii, 362.

[4] RYM., viii, 330; PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 10, September 10th, 1403. [5] ROT. SCOT., ii, 164, dated Pontefract, August 6th, 1403; ROT. PARL., iii, 544; STAT., ii, 148. [6] ROT. SCOT., ii, 164, dated York, August 13th, 1403.

confined. The appointment was to date from [1]August 13th, and was to be retained for seven years. An instalment of £1,343 6s. 7½d. was paid to him, to maintain his position and satisfy the claims of his troops. The West March, with the castle of Carlisle, was at the same time given to the Earl of Westmoreland, though not [2]formally conferred upon him till March 4th, 1404. [3]In the thick of the danger the East March also had been conferred upon him, with the castles of Berwick and Bamborough, for life; but the subsequent appointment of Prince John necessitated a change of plan.

Before leaving Pontefract the Earl of Northumberland had [4]put his seal to such documents as the King required. In accordance with these, directions were at once despatched to the Constables of the castles to deliver up possession to the King's nominees. Justices were required to sit at Newcastle, and a Sheriff was to represent the royal interests; while an [5]officer was appointed who should be responsible for the good government of all the lands, castles, and lordships of the Earl of Northumberland, in the name of the King. Commissioners were also despatched to tender to all Knights and Esquires in the county of Northumberland an [6]oath, which had been drawn up at Pontefract (August 15th), binding them to be loyal to King Henry and his heirs, and to renounce the company and service of the Earl; not to communicate with him or send him anything without express permission, nor to be privy to any

[1] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 5 H. IV., MICH., November 20th and December 3rd. [2] ROT. SCOT., ii, 166. [3] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 10 (dated July 29th, 1403), where Henry Percy is spoken of as having "gone the way of all flesh" (viam universæ carnis est ingressus). [4] It had been forwarded by a special messenger from London.—PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 5 H. IV., MICH., November 9th. [5] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 8, contains an order (dated September 7th, 1403) addressed to Lord de Say, Seneschal of the King's Household, to take over all the Earl's possessions in Yorkshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Newcastle, while John Leventhorpe was to collect the revenues. [6] RYM., viii, 322. ROT. VIAG. (24, 25) contains the oath in full.

future schemes against the King or his heirs, on pain of losing life and limb.

Then followed a liberal distribution of rewards, in which the Scottish Earl of March and his son had an ample share, receiving, among other things, the [1]forfeited possessions of Henry Percy, in the Fens of Lincolnshire, besides many estates belonging to the [2]Earl of Worcester. All manors, castles, and lands belonging to Henry Percy in [3]Cumberland were subsequently granted to Prince John. The [4]silver vessels of the Earl of Worcester were granted to the Prince of Wales, and the property of [5]Sir Richard Venables passed to his brother William, who had remained loyal to the King.

On the [6]15th of August, the King issued orders to Sheriffs, that levies should meet him at Worcester on the 3rd of September, and he left [7]Pontefract on the 17th of August, proceeding by Doncaster, Worksop, [8]Leicester, and Beckley (near Oxford), to Woodstock, where he rested (August 24th to 29th) on his way to attempt the fulfilment of the second part of his declared intention in quelling the insurrection in Wales.

[1] RYM., viii, 323. Cf. PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 9 (dated July 7th, 1404), where Lord de Grey receives two hospices belonging to Henry Percy in "Aldrichegate Strete," in London, with shops, solars (for the "solar" or state-room, see ROGERS, i, 12), closes, gardens, &c. [2] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 32, dated October 1st, 1403. [3] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 18, June 7th, 1404. [4] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 14, July 23rd, 1403. [5] *Ibid*, 2, 9, September 10th, 1403. [6] CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 3. [7] RYM., viii, 324. [8] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 7, dated Leicester, August 20th. He was at Woodstock, August 29th, and at Beckley again, August 30th.—*Ibid*, m. 7, 10, 16. ROT. VIAG., 22.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SOUTH WALES.

THE check which Owen had received at the hands of Baron Carew had arrested his further progress to the West, and, while Henry Percy was being crushed in the open at Shrewsbury, there was no real effort made to take the field with any large army in Wales. Indeed, we should form an entirely false conception of the operations of the Welsh, if we dignified them with anything approaching the completeness of a campaign in modern warfare. Plundering incursions on the lands and farms of the English, and occasional sharp attacks upon walled towns, make up the sum of the operations. The English, being outnumbered, could only maintain themselves within their castles, and submit to be plundered by marauding bands.

Hereford and Monmouthshire were now the chief objects of attack. Unable to make head against the robbers, the King's representatives in Hereford had come to [1]some sort of terms with them, submitting ignominiously to black-mail in despair of any hope of immediate help. But this weakness could not save them. The whole Border country was infested, and no Englishman's life was safe away from the shelter of his own castle. Sir William Beauchamp, Warden of the castles of Abergavenny and Ewyas Harold, found his men waylaid, robbed, and murdered, in attempting to pass between Abergavenny and Hereford, and [2]wrote urging the King to send immediate assistance.

On September 3rd, Richard Kingston, Archdeacon of Here-

[1] "Nient contre esteant la nostre trewe."—ROY. LET., i, 155. [2] See his letter (dated August 23rd, 1403), *Ibid*, i, 152, unless this letter is to be referred to 1402.

ford, and [1]Dean of the Chapel at Windsor, wrote again, a last despairing appeal, to the King to come in person to Hereford, as the only chance of saving that county. He had heard that very day that 400 rebels had entered the county of Hereford from the mountains of Wales, robbing and plundering and driving off the cattle *(bestaille a graunte nombre).* He had sent out all the forces he had, with the Sheriff and "othir gentils," to oppose them, and, as he said, "yn god fey, I have nought ylefte with me over two men."

The King, meanwhile, had passed through [2]Evesham and reached Worcester on the 3rd September. He remained at Worcester until the 10th, and a [3]rumour had got abroad that he would not come by Hereford after all. This rumour served both to embolden the Welsh and to dishearten the English. The Archdeacon, therefore, urged the absolute necessity for the immediate presence that very night, or the next day at latest, of a force of at least 100 men-at-arms and 600 archers, under some leader of established reputation—as, for instance, the [4]Earl of Somerset, or his brother, Thomas Beaufort. These might suffice for the moment, but unless the King came soon himself, he would not find one single gentleman to await him in the county.

The King's delay at Worcester was due not to any want of will, but to the old familiar difficulty, viz.: want of funds. [5]"His letting was that he failed mony." He issued urgent [6]notices to the owners and Wardens of castles on the borders of Hereford and Monmouth, requiring them, under pain of forfeiture, to keep their castles in a proper state of defence in respect to provisions and armament. The list includes the

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 5, 21, February 6th, 1400. [2] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 7, 8, 10. [3] "This day the Welshmen supposen and trusten that ye schulle nought come there, and there for for Goddes love mak them fals men." [4] "Mon tres honoure mestre Beauford."—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 217. ROT. PARL, iii, 547. [5] CAPGR., 283. [6] RYM., viii, 328; CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 1, September 8th, 1403.

castles of Llandovery, Crickhowel, Tretire, Abergavenny, Ewyas Harold, Goodrich, Eardisley, Caerleon, Usk, Caerphilly, Ewyas Lacy (*i.e.*, Longtown), Paynes Castle, Rhulen, [1]Huntingdon, Lyonshall, Dorston, Stapleton, and Brampton Bryan. Similar orders were sent to the keepers of the castles of Maenor Byrr, on the coast of Pembroke, Llaugharne, in Caermarthenshire, together with those of Laghadyn and Snowdon, the exact position of which it is not so easy to identify.

Worcester was at the time crowded with notables. A Council [2]or informal Parliament was hastily called together, and the usual request submitted for an advance of money. News had got abroad of the secret complicity of many leading men with the abortive rebellion, and strong suspicion was directed against the Duke of York and the Archbishop of Canterbury. But all present renewed their oath of allegiance, adding a solemn declaration of devotion to the family of King Henry, and [3]proclamations were ordered to be issued denying these sinister rumours in the King's name. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the Bishops were present, but they pleaded poverty, urging that the clergy were so poor that they had scarcely the wherewithal to live. To some of his lay subjects who surrounded the King, the wealth and splendour of the churchmen's retinue seemed to belie the plea. Was it fair, they asked, that they should be spending their lives and toiling on the battlefield, that these churchmen might lead a life of luxury? and they gave their voice for taking the equipage and the ornaments from these idle priests, and sending them home afoot. Upon this the Archbishop replied, with warmth, that the first man who raised a finger to spoil the Church, his back should smart for it [4]("he schal for his spoyling have as good

[1] See account of consequent repairs from Manor Rolls, referred to in ROBINSON, Castles of Hereford, p. 78. [2] "Nadgairs al conseil de Wyrcestre."—ROT. PARL., iii, 525. [3] CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 2, dated Worcester, September 5th. [4] CAPGR., 284. "If any of the soldiers offered to plunder his Retinue, they might expect to be well drub'd for their pains."—COLLIER, i, 620.

knokkis as ever had Englischman"). The King disavowed the advice of his over-zealous friends, and prudently soothed the Archbishop, who thereupon gave a promise that he would call a Synod of his brethren in London, and see what could be done. The Synod subsequently met [1](October 7th), and some of the wealthiest of the Bishops agreed to advance a half of their next capitation for the use of the King. But although the Archbishop [2]advanced £100, and the Abbot of St. Albans 100 marks, yet the whole amount raised did not exceed £500, and the King was forced to apply again to the wealthy merchants for aid in his immediate necessity.

These paltry sums were but a drop in the ocean, and the procrastination gave rise to the rumours that the King would not advance from Worcester at all. Urged, however, by necessity, he [3]sent orders for the county forces to assemble with all speed at Hereford, and at length proceeded thither in person. He reached Hereford on the [4]11th of September, and remained until after the [5]15th, giving orders that supplies of corn, wine, oats, hakes (*i.e.*, dried fish), and beer, should be collected at [6]Bristol, to be forwarded to the garrisons at Cardiff, Newport, Brecon, Hay, Kenvig, Builth, Clifford, Dynas, Caermarthen, Kidwelly, Swansea, Kilkennin, Lampedervaur, Cardigan, and Emlyn. On the [7]19th of September, he was at Michaelchurch, where he ordered a loan of 2,000 marks to be raised and forwarded to him, at Caermarthen, by the 29th. On the 21st he had reached Devynock, in the Forest of Brecon, far on his road to Caermarthen. All opposition seemed to have melted away. At Devynock he gave full powers to Sir W. Beauchamp, Sir John Oldcastle, and others, to grant pardons wherever they saw a chance of the rebels showing an inclination to submit.

[1] ANN., 373; CONC., iii, 272, 274. [2] ANN., 374. [3] Dated Worcester, September 8th, in CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 3. [4] PAT., 4 H. IV., 1, 28. [5] *Ibid*, 2, 7, 9, dated Hereford, September 11th, 12th, 13th, 15th; and RYM., viii, 331. [6] ROT. VIAG., 23, September 12th. [7] *Ibid*, 27.

By the [1]24th of September he was at Caermarthen, where he endeavoured to restore the English authority, though no serious effort was made to maintain it permanently. Grants were made to those [2]loyal subjects who had lost their substance in the late attacks. The walls of Caermarthen were to be repaired, and stores of beer, honey, and salt, were to be forwarded to the town by sea, from Milford, Haverfordwest, Pembroke, and Tenby.

The Earl of Somerset and three other leaders remained at Caermarthen for a month, endeavouring to keep together a disaffected, unpaid, and undisciplined garrison. The King returned to England. He was at Hereford on the 3rd of October, and remained until the 6th. He arrived in [3]Gloucester by October 7th, 1403. On [4]that day he ordered levies, with provisions for four days, to meet at Gloucester and Dudstone on the following Wednesday, to proceed with him or his representative into Wales; others were to be ready at Chepstow on the day after. The significance of this tiny operation is not very apparent. We only know that the King had no intention of returning to Wales himself. He stayed at Gloucester about a week, the fruits of which appear in an order, [5]dated October 14th, to the Earl of Arundel, Hugh Burnell, and Edward Cherlton, to assemble an array at Shrewsbury, and an authorization granting pardon to such of the rebels as would sue for it in the districts of Usk, Caerleon, and Trelleck. News had meantime come in that Cardiff was attacked, and it was feared that Owen would again invade Herefordshire. The King was at Bristol on the 18th of October, and remained there till the 27th. Still he showed no desire to return to the seat of war. He sent a proclamation to the Sheriffs of Somerset, Dorset, Devonshire, and Wiltshire, that their forces might be soon called upon to repel invasion. On the [6]24th of October, the Earl of

[1] Rot. Viag., 27. [2] *Ibid*, 24. [3] Pat., 5 H. IV., 1, 19, 13; Claus. 5 H. IV., 1, 27; Rot. Viag., 21. [4] Rot. Viag., 20. [5] *Ibid*, 21. [6] Pat., 5 H. IV., 2, 31.

Warwick was appointed to the charge of the castle of Brecon. A requisition was sent for 20 men-at-arms and 50 archers to be at Dunster before October 28th, ready to cross to Caermarthen, where they would be required to strengthen the garrison for three months, and levies from Devonshire were to assemble at Uphill, in Somersetshire, by the 1st of November, to pass over the Channel to the relief of Cardiff. By the 29th of October, the King was at [1]Cirencester, where he remained, as the guest of the Abbot, till the 14th of November. Before November 22nd he was back again at [2]Westminster. The citizens received him with [3]demonstrations of unbounded loyalty, shouting "Welcome to the noble King Henry!" and "God bless my Lord the Prince, his son!"

No sooner had the King turned his face homewards than the Knights, Esquires, and others of the garrison which had been left in Caermarthen, declared roundly that they would not "for anything in the world" remain there beyond the month for which they had stipulated. The Earl of Somerset and his brother, Sir Thomas Beaufort, who had been left in command of the detachment, [4]wrote to the Council (October 8th), urging that they should be at once relieved by the Duke of York or some other very exalted personage, with sufficient force to maintain authority in the district, "else the King is in great peril and on the highroad to ruin *(en voie de perdition)*." Their request was granted in so far that a sum of [5]£25 12s. was sent over to pay their men, and they were personally relieved of their command. Sir Thomas Beaufort was, on [6]November 5th,

[1] PAT., 5 H. IV., 1, 6, 13, 15, 17, 22; *Ibid*, 2, 35. [2] RYM., viii, 338. [3] WAUR., 66. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 217. [5] PELLS ISSUE, 5 H. IV., MICH., November 12th, 1403. [6] ROT. PAT., 5 H. IV., m. 18, in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 220. On April 28th, 1404, he received £133 6s. 8d. as Admiral for the North.—EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECEIPT, MISC. $\frac{42}{12}$ He was subsequently made Admiral of the Northern and Western Fleets for life, September 21st, 1408; also for Ireland, Aquitaine, and Picardy, July 7th, 1409; renewed, May 3rd, 1411, &c.—See TWISS, BLACK BOOK OF ADMIRALTY, i, xxi, with documents in App. I., 347-394.

appointed Admiral for the North of England, and the Duke of York took over the command of the garrison in Caermarthen. The Council promptly made arrangements for adequately supporting him, and, on the [1]25th of October, the King was able to thank them for their diligence in providing him with an outfit. But by the 8th of November he had not yet left London for his command.

In the meantime the difficulties of the situation were in every way increasing. [2]In Anglesea, the castle of Beaumaris was threatened, and could only be rescued by strong supports sent from Chester. Cardiff Castle was known to be in great peril, and the Earl of Devon was commissioned, on the 26th of [3]October, to press men into his service and proceed to its rescue. The castle at [4]Lampeter was still surrounded and only just holding out with heroic courage against the last extremities of famine. Urgent messages were despatched by the King to the Council to send £100 at once, to enable Lord Berkeley, the [5]Admiral of the Southern and Western Coasts, to proceed to the relief of the famished garrison. The castle of [6]Kidwelly had been attacked and the walls injured; and, as if to emphasize the danger and intensify the alarm, the King about the same time received a letter from the Constable [7]dated October 4th, 1403, informing him that some French and Bretons had landed in Caermarthen Bay, where they had been joined by the Welsh rebels, and had destroyed the crops all round the castle and town, and that many of the King's loyal subjects had fled with their wives and families into England, while others had escaped into the castle in terror for their lives.

[1] "De la bone diligence que mettez entour l' exploit de Monsieur le Duc d' Ewerwyk." Letter dated Bristol, October 25th, 1403, to the Chancellor, Henry Beaufort, endorsed thus: Le paiement pur le garnison de Kermerdyn.—Roy. Let., i, 169. [2] 8th Rept. Hist. MS. Commission, 359 *a*. [3] Tyler, i, 184. [4] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 219; ii, 62. [5] Exchequ. Treas. of Receipt, Misc. $\frac{40}{20}$ [6] Tyler, i, 184. [7] Roy. Let., i, 160.

At length, on the [1]12th November, an indenture was drawn up and signed between the King and the Duke of York, "as to the service of the said Duke in the office of Lieutenant of South Wales." The [2]Duke and the Prince of Wales were authorized jointly to grant pardons to rebels, wherever such pardon should be deemed advisable, and with such forces as they could control prepared to face the winter. The men of Chester were [3]fined 3,000 marks, and lands and goods were forfeited in the counties of Monmouth and Glamorgan. Encouraged by the prospect of assistance, the people of Kidwelly had repaired the breaches made in their walls, and on [4]December 1st received the King's acknowledgments. [5]John Penrees, the new Governor of the castle of Llanstephan, had been captured by Owen and was still a prisoner, and it was not till December 19th, 1403, that arrangements were made for appointing a successor. On that day, David Howell was appointed in the English interest, and the castle was re-garrisoned with 10 men-at-arms and 20 archers. By this time, the Duke of York had really entered on his command. His appointment was finally dated from [6]November 29th, and was to last for three years. It was to include the castles of Caermarthen, Cardigan, Lampeter, Dynevor, Dryslwyn (or Drusseland), Newcastle Emlyn, Kidwelly, and Carrick Cennin (or Kaier Kenn). He had under his command 250 men-at-arms and 780 archers, and he actually received £2,912 towards the payment of their wages, the money being supplied to him at Cirencester, out of a sum of £4,000, which had been specially packed in [7]"two trussing coffers," and forwarded to the King from London. At the same time [8](November 28th), Richard, Lord de Grey, was appointed Justiciar for South Wales.

[1] Treas. of Recpt., $\frac{8}{12}$ No year specified, but wrongly attributed to the reign of Richard II. [2] Rot. Parl., iii, 544; Stat., ii, 148. [3] Pat., 5 H. IV., 1, 15, 19, for the Lordships of Chepstow, Strogel, and Gower. [4] Tyler, i, 184; Pat., 5 H. IV., 1, 24. [5] *Ibid*, 1, 15. [6] Pells Issue Roll, 5 H. IV., Mich., December 10th, 1403. [7] *Ibid*, November 9th, 1403, records payment of 11s. 8d. for making them. [8] Pat, 5 H. IV., 1, 26.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE PIRATE WAR.

THE negociations with France had been, as we have seen, prolonged in the hope of an ultimate favourable termination, many doubtful points in dispute being held over for settlement when once the final peace should have been assured. But events that were occurring through the summer wrecked all prospect of peace, and made reconciliation more and more impossible. Piracy had not ceased, and [1]plundering parties from the opposite coasts were organized with even greater completeness than before.

At the very time when the Commissioners were meeting at Lenlingham [2](June 27th, 1403), a rover named [3]Gilbert de Fretun, a native of [4]Guisnes, and a vassal of the King of England, was landing in the island of Alderney (then called "Aurigny," or [5]"Orny"), which he ravaged and plundered, killing men, women, and children, and carrying off both booty and prisoners. From thence he withdrew without molestation to the mouth of the Seine, where he was received with every consideration. So far were the French authorities from discountenancing his raids, that he was even able to discharge and dispose of his cargo at Le Crotoy, in the mouth of the Somme, with the connivance of the Lord de Hugueville, who was actually one of the envoys then negociating with the English for a treaty, on behalf of the King of France. At [6]Harfleur, privateers were fitted out under pretence of serving under the

[1] JUV., 423. [2] RYM., viii, 305. [3] ROY. LET., i, 216. [4] MONSTR., ch. xii. [5] Spelt "Aurney," in PAT., 1 H. IV., 3, 20. [6] ROY. LET., i, 218.

King of Scotland, though [1]negociations for a treaty were then pending between England and the Scots. These privateers preyed upon English merchant ships, and it was estimated that property to the value of £100,000 sterling was captured, nominally by the Scots, but really by the subjects of the King of France.

It is not to be supposed that the English were more sinned against than sinning. Every port on the South coast was a haven for pirates, and gangs of desperadoes issued from Dover, Rye, Portsmouth, Poole, Plymouth, Dartmouth, and Fowey. The names of many of the most notorious are still recorded, but the profits were so rapid and the excitement so fascinating, that the whole of the seaport populations were parties to the business, and drove a roaring trade in robbery.

French, Flemish, and Spaniards were plundered indiscriminately. [2]In July, 1402, Henry Pay, of Poole, captured a ship from Bremen, with a cargo of rice, almonds, Barbary grain, Paradise grain, rock alum, cotton fillet, Valencia saffron, anise, lac, dates, and "prime sak." All these good things were taken to Southampton, to be sold. The King of Aragon made formal complaint of piracy against John Hawley, of Dartmouth, who was ordered to appear before the Council on [3]January 15th, 1403. The Flemish towns remonstrated, and several of the most notorious offenders were summoned to answer before the Council in London, on [4]February 3rd. Their names were John Hawley, of Dartmouth, Mark Mixtan, of Fowey, Henry Spicer, of Portsmouth, John Ranmaer, of Dover, Henry Don, of Plymouth, John Trieman, of Rye, Robert Boult, of Dartmouth, Hugh Bodrugan, of Cornwall, Henry Pay, of Poole, Richard Brit, of Hull, John Prince, John Kighley, William Bliet, Thomas Pattrick, Michael Rochelle, William Counce,

[1] See Commission, dated Pontefract, August 6th, 1403.—RYM., viii, 321; ROT. SCOT., ii, 164. [2] PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 6. [3] CLAUS. 4 H. IV., m. 31. [4] *Ibid*, m. 30.

William Flete, Rose, Legat, Blom, Barbury, Wala, De Rue, and Stevens. On the [1]7th of March, messengers from Flanders had an interview with the Council, and a meeting was arranged to take place at Calais on the 1st of July, at which John Hawley and others were ordered to attend. But nothing came of all these remonstrances. Hawley was always otherwise employed. On the [2]17th of April, Robert Boult, in conjunction with the Admiral of Bayonne, captured three Castilian ships, and carried them to Dartmouth. [3]On the 18th of May, Peter de Gruerys, of Brittany, complained that his ship and cargo had been seized and carried to Portsmouth. On the [4]8th of October, John Hawley and Thomas Norton, of Bristol, brought into Dartmouth a Spanish ship from Lakecio (?), with a freight valued at 200 crowns. On the [5]22nd of October, he seized a ship from Biscay, with 1,400 quintals of iron; while, on the 27th of the same month, Henry Pay, of Poole, caught a vessel from Bilbao off the Isle of Wight, loaded with garments, girdles, gold and silver, valued at not less than 5,000 marks. Many of the crew were killed. The rest, together with the master, John de Corostion, were beaten and ill-treated. They were then put into a small boat, and set adrift towards the coast of France.

These instances stand recorded because the robberies were committed upon the vessels of friendly neighbours, and called for enquiry. But with the trading ships of France there was constant warfare. On the [6]24th of August, the authorities at Bristol, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Lynn, Southampton and Yarmouth, were called upon to have vessels and crews ready to protect the wine ships passing to and from Bordeaux, and many of the offenders whose names appear in the preceding lists had been, at different times, actually commissioned [7]"to search the

[1] CLAUS. 4 H. IV., m. 12. [2] *Ibid*, 15. [3] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 22. [4] PAT., 5 H. IV., 1, 2. [5] *Ibid*, 1. [6] ROT. VIAG., 22. [7] *e.g.*, Mark Mixtan, of Fowey, in PAT., 3 H. IV., 2, 7, July 30th, 1402.

sea," or in other words to prey upon the trading ships passing up and down the Channel.

One of the first acts of [1]Sir Thomas Beaufort, on his appointment as [2]Admiral for the North, was to organize a special service of armed vessels to convoy merchantmen passing between the Thames and the Tyne. [3]On the 5th of November, 1403, Thomas, Lord Berkeley, succeeded Sir Thomas Rempston as Admiral from the Thames westward, and doubtless made similar arrangements for the safety of shipping in the English Channel. About the same time, two envoys had arrived in London from Henry's old friend Conrad of Jungingen, General Master of the Teutonic Knights, and an agreement was signed on [4]October 3rd, guaranteeing security for English traders in Prussia and along the Eastern shores of the Baltic.

Emboldened by success, a large fleet of piratical cruisers under the command of [5]James of Bourbon, Count de la Marche, with his two brothers, Louis, Count of Vendôme, and Jean, Lord of Clarency, was fitted out, with the help of the Bretons, to prey upon the English trading ships passing up and down the Channel. Sailing from Brest, [6]they landed plundering parties on the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, who [7]burned houses and captured many of the inhabitants, exacting large sums of money for their ransom. They then stood over to the coast of Devonshire, and fell in with [8]seven trading vessels making down the Channel from Dartmouth. They gave chase, and the crews, being quite defenceless, ran in for Plymouth; but, being unable to make the port, they abandoned their ships and cargoes, glad to escape with their lives in open boats.

The nearness of the marauders spread terror along the coasts, and the people crowded into Plymouth in wild alarm. But the

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 220. [2] PAT., 5 H. IV., 1, 24, dated November 24th, 1403. [3] *Ibid*, 18. [4] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 21. [5] JUV., 426. [6] MANET, ii, 430. [7] ROY. LET., i, 223. [8] WAUR., 4, 6, 9 (p. 85); MONSTR., ch. xi.

Plymouth men, probably fearing the pressure of so many useless mouths in the event of a scarcity or blockade, at once doubled the price of provisions for the outsiders, and so drove them out again, but made no further preparation for the attack.

In the afternoon of [1]August 10th (St. Lawrence Day), large bodies of Bretons effected a landing about a mile from the town. Plymouth was at that time [2]quite unfortified. The Bretons met no obstacles; they entered the town the same evening on the land-side ("the bak-half"), and they [3]burned and plundered at their will till ten o'clock on the following morning. Many of the townsmen were killed or mutilated, others were carried away and held to ransom. The marauders next visited "a small island named [4]Salmue," or "Salmouth," probably in the entrance of the wide estuary called the "Kings-bridge river," which was defended by a strong castle called Salcombe. This "little island" they plundered likewise, and then turned their vessels homeward. But in recrossing the Channel, about the [5]middle of September, they encountered a furious gale, and only escaped to St. Malo with the loss of twelve vessels and their crews. When the mischief was done, the men of [6]Plymouth were allowed to surround their town, or the part of it known as Sutton Vantort and Sutton Prior, "with a wall of stone and lime, fortified with towers and defences," to guard them against surprises for the future.

These raids were treated at the time in [7]official documents as the work of the Bretons and not of the French, with whom the country was at peace. Afterwards it suited the purpose of the English Commissioners to claim that the Bretons were actually

[1] CAXTON, 218. [2] LYSONS, vi, 391. [3] ANN., 375. [4] It must certainly be looked for in the neighbourhood of Dartmouth, for in PAT., 4 H. IV, 1, 13, John Hawley, of Dartmouth, is commissioned to impress "from Seton to Zalme." [5] MANET, ii, 430. [6] PAT., 5 H. IV., 1, 6, dated February 6th, 1404. [7] RYM., viii, 325. ROT. VIAG., 22 (dated Woodstock, August 26th, 1403), reports that "many magnates and others, of Brittany, have landed and burnt many towns."

subjects of the crown of France and within the jurisdiction of the Admiral of France (*[1]purs subges de la courone et de l'obeissance de l'Amiralle de France*). But, when the events were still recent, the diplomatic distinction was strictly maintained. In retaliation, a fleet of English vessels hung about the coasts of Brittany, watching their opportunity for revenge. But the Breton Admiral, [2]Jean de Penhors (or de Penhoët), collected a fleet at [3]Roscoff, near Morlaise (or St. Paul de Léon) on the north coast, and fell upon them when lying off Cape St. Matthieu at the entrance to Brest Harbour. After three hours hard fighting the English were completely beaten. It is said that 40 of their vessels were captured and 2,000 of the crews either drowned or taken prisoners.

Thus encouraged, the plunderers gathered strength. The [4]Count of St. Pol lay with a small fleet off the entrance to the Garonne, robbing the wine ships. In self-defence, the Mayors of London, Bristol, Lynn, Yarmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, and Dartmouth were authorized to impress and compel the services of men-at-arms to sail with trading vessels and protect their cargoes; while a special grant of money was made to the Prior of St. Michael's Mount to maintain a proper garrison there, as [5]a "fortress protecting the whole neighbouring country in time of war."

It was during these late autumn months that a party of Bretons and French was reported off the coast of Caermarthen. The only [6]recorded statement that I can find as to their numbers places them at 12,000 men, but this is certainly a great exaggeration. Nevertheless the apparition was formidable enough, as betokening a new and threatening complication of dangers. At the same time, alarming news reached London

[1] ROY. LET., i, 220, dated March 18th, 1404. [2] MONSTR., ch. xii. [3] MANET, ii, 430. [4] EULOG., iii, 399. [5] RYM., viii, 341, December 5th, 1403. [6] Abrègé de l'histoire du Roy Charles VI. (anonymous), in GODEFROY, 402.

that [1]Southampton was in danger of being surrounded on the land-side as well as blockaded by sea. On hearing of the attack on Plymouth, [2]John, Lord Lovell, the governor of Southampton, had been ordered to defend the place, drawing upon the resources of the Bishop and Prior of Winchester and the wealthy Abbot of Hyde. [3]On the 7th of September, it had been ordered that the town of Southampton should be fortified against attacks.

On the [4]21st of October, letters under the Privy Seal were issued to notable men in every county to gather and forward money for the King's assistance on account of his expenses in Wales. At the same time (viz.: [5]October 20th) summons were sent out for a Parliament to meet at Coventry on [6]December 3rd. But objections were raised on account of the inaccessibility of the place and the difficulty of obtaining food and lodging there at that stormy season. Moreover [7]"the shortness of the time" before Christmas was an effectual barrier to a successful business meeting. Thus, when the time drew near, the meeting had to be abandoned, and, on the 24th of November, a further notice was issued postponing the regular session till the octave of St. Hilary. Nevertheless, a meeting of some kind did take place in December at Coventry. The King himself was present in person. Seven petitions appear on the Roll as presented with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons [8]"assembled in this present Parliament held at Coventre." The matters set down for special deliberation were the safeguard of the seas and the rebellion in Wales, but owing [9]to "several reasonable causes,"

[1] ROY. LET., i, 167. [2] CLAUS. 4 H. IV., 10, dated September 24th, 1403. [3] PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 10. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 72. [5] REPT. ON DIGNITY OF A PEER, iii, 785; CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 28. [6] Not November 30th (St. Andrew's Day), as ANN., 376. PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 5 H. IV., MICH. (November 12th), contains payment to messengers. [7] ROT. PARL., iii, 523. [8] *Ibid*, iii, 483, assigned to 3 H. IV. (*i.e.*, 1402.) [9] *Ibid*, iii, 523.

the consideration of these questions was adjourned till the regular Parliament should meet, [1]which would assemble at Westminster, in January, 1404.

But some time before this abortive "Parliament" could meet at Coventry the Council had been enabled to assemble a fleet in the Thames, under the command of Sir William Wilford, with orders to proceed to sea and wait his opportunity to attack and disperse the invaders. On the 20th of October, Commissioners were appointed to array the whole forces of several counties under the most stringent penalties, to have beacons *(signa vocata "Bekyns")* prepared on the hills and to be ready at any moment to march to the coast to resist invasion. But objection was taken to the excessive severity of the powers entrusted to the Commissioners, and the King [2]subsequently promised that the expedient should not be repeated.

Sir William Wilford sailed down the Channel to Dartmouth, where he was strengthened by a western fleet that had assembled from Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Bristol. Though warned to act with caution, he crossed boldly to Brest and captured six vessels in sight of the harbour. The following day they captured four others, loaded with iron, oil, and [3]tallow. They then proceeded to Belleisle, where they seized 30 wine-ships from La Rochelle, carrying off 1,000 casks of wine.

The late successes of the French had made them [4]over-confident, and the sudden appearance of Wilford with his fleet found them altogether unprepared. Returning from Belleisle, the English commander landed 4,000 of his men on the rocky promontory of [5]Penmarch (near Quimper). They advanced

[1] See writ of prorogation (dated Westminster, November 24th, 1403), in REPT. ON DIGNITY OF A PEER, iii, 787; CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 25, 31. [2] See the copy for Bucks, in ROT. PARL., iii, 527. [3] Reading "sebo" for "sopo" or "sepo," as CAPGR., 284. "Yrun, oyle, and talow." [4] "Dont les Bretons ne se donnoient de garde."—JUV., 426. [5] "Apud Pennarche." —ANN., 376. Called "Penmark," in CHAUCER, Frankelaine's Tale, 11113, where the downcast Dorigene used to watch the "grisly fendly rockes blake."

18 miles into the country plundering and burning. Returning to their ships, they again captured crowds of coasting vessels, small and great. They then landed 5,000 men at St. Matthieu, burnt the houses, and encamped for the night. On the following day, they were confronted by 3,000 men from Brest, who demanded satisfaction. But Wilford answered that the only satisfaction he would give would be to burn half Brittany, and challenged them to give battle. The Bretons however declined, though they begged a truce of seven days, upon which the English took their departure and returned in high spirits to their own country.

During the whole of these proceedings a truce still subsisted in name between the English and French nations. The landing parties confined their attacks strictly to the coast of Brittany, the Bretons being regarded as the allies of France and not an integral part of the French nation. But the negotiations were becoming every day nothing more than a hollow form, and the two nations had actually drifted into war before the pretence of negotiating was formally abandoned.

On the 5th of September, representatives had met at Lenlingham, as had been before arranged, and, after a few days conference, had agreed to a further prolongation, [1]fixing November 20th as the day on which prisoners should be exchanged and satisfaction given.

This agreement was signed on the 13th of September, yet within three days [2](September 16th) the Duke of Orleans actually left Paris for the invasion of Guyenne. This was no petty filibustering expedition secretly despatched under false colours, but a large force openly and publicly organized and officered by some of the highest notables and officials of France. It numbered, according to the statement of an [3]eye-witness, 1,500 Knights and Esquires with their retinues,

[1] RYM., viii, 330. [2] *Ibid*, 336. [3] Gilles de Bouvier, in GODEFROY, p. 412.

and amongst the leaders were included [1]Jean, Count of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke of Bourbon, the Constable of France [2](Charles d'Albret, [3]Count de Dreux and Lord of Sully and Craon), and the Admiral of France [4](Reginald de Tria), together with a host of others. The Duke of Orleans passed with his force through [5]Orleans, where he received a splendid reception. On the [6]14th of October, he wrote another violent letter to Henry, repeating all his previous charges of treachery, duplicity, and murder. At Orleans he made his will, an immensely lengthy and minute document, [7]which fills 16 folio pages of closely printed modern type. The will was signed on the 19th of October, and the whole force then marched out towards the south, to enforce the claim of the little Prince Louis, who had been formally created Duke of Guyenne at the beginning of the previous year.

A portion of the force advanced under the command of the Constable Charles d'Albret. They met with a gallant resistance before the castle of [8]Corbefin, in the Limousin, near the Dordogne. All assaults and efforts failed to reduce the place by storm, but at length after a [9]siege (variously estimated at from six to twelve weeks) the garrison under [10]Thomas Hervy agreed to capitulate, and were allowed to depart with their lives and their property, the neighbouring country paying them 14,000 crowns to be rid of them. After the [11]fall of Corbefin, thirteen other places submitted to the Constable. Thirty-three more submitted to the Count of Clermont, who had established himself with a force of 500 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers and

[1] CHRISTINE, ii, xii, xiv. [2] *Ibid*, ii, vii, xvii. [3] BOUVIER, p. 412. [4] RECUEIL DES TRAITEZ., i, 364. [5] JUV., 426. [6] TRAIS., lxvii, quoting MSS. DE BRIENNE, xxxiv, 239. [7] In GODEFROY, pp. 630, &c. [8] "Curbuffin," ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 242; "Carleflin," MONSTR., i, 20; "Corbasin," BOUVIER, 412. [9] JUV., 430; ST. DENYS, xxv, 17; ROT. PARL., iii, 545; MONSTR., i, 20. [10] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 254. [11] This could not have taken place till well into 1404. On November 12th, 1404, it is referred to as having happened "jam tarde."—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 242.

cross-bowmen at St. Flour, in Auvergne, and stopped any advance of the English in that quarter.

On the arrival of the Duke of Orleans, an attempt was made to surround Bordeaux on the land side, and prevent the entry of provisions, while the Count of St. Pol was off the mouth of the Garonne, to close all access to the town from the sea. But the Count was driven off by the vessels sent from England and the land army was not sufficiently supplied with provisions to succeed in so ambitious a design. Their only hope lay in fostering disaffection within the city itself. A [1]plot was formed for admitting the French, but the traitors were arrested and the leaders sent to London, where they were drawn and hanged. During the same period the trade of [2]Bayonne was harassed by French and Frisian corsairs who hung about the coast. But, beyond the inconvenience arising from the interruption of trade, little permanent damage was done, and the Duke of Orleans returned with his army to Paris before the winter.

At the very time when it was known that the Duke of Orleans had started for the invasion of Guyenne, news also reached England that the [3]Duke of Burgundy, with a large force (in which were included many of his subjects from Ghent and other Flemish towns, together with contingents from Holland and Brabant) was preparing to lay siege to [4]Calais and other English strongholds in its neighbourhood. There is little room to doubt that these simultaneous attacks on the English possessions in France, by the two rival Dukes, were intended as an occasion for removing both of them from Paris, where their feuds were becoming every day more dangerous to the public peace.

Orders were given to prepare [5]immense wooden erections, like castles, to be used in the siege of Calais. Within the garrison itself great disaffection prevailed, in consequence of

[1] Eulog., iii, 399. [2] Rym., viii, 354. [3] Christine, ii, xiii. [4] Rym., viii, 336, October 25th, 1403. [5] Juv., 426.

the non-payment of wages. Indeed, we know, [1]from the subsequent statement of the Earl of Somerset, as Captain of Calais, that by the close of the year (viz.: December 28th, 1403) the arrears amounted to the immense sum of £11,423 12s. 3d. Taking advantage of this feeling of disaffection, the Duke of Burgundy opened [2]communications with some traitors in the garrison, who agreed to admit the French into the town.

On the English side, warnings were issued [3](October 25th) for levies to be prepared to resist the expected attacks on Calais and Guyenne. Nevertheless, the form of truce was still maintained; for, on the very next day [4](October 25th), papers were signed granting security and protection to the French herring-fishers in the Channel, up to the following New Year's Day. And [5]when the year closed, permission was asked and obtained for an extension of the arrangement for a further period of twelve months. Directions were also issued (October 26th) for complying with the terms lately agreed to on both sides at Lenlyngham, and for releasing prisoners in accordance with them, by November 28th at the latest.

As the 20th of November approached, the English Commissioners were again despatched to France. They landed at Calais on [6]November 17th. By this time the [7]conspiracy among the garrison had been detected. The traitors had been shipped off to England, whence they were now returned to be executed for their crimes as a warning to the rest.

On the 18th of November, the English Commissioners sent notice as required to Boulogne, that they were ready to fulfil their part of the arrangement previously agreed upon, and proceed to the final negociations for the release of prisoners and the satisfaction of claims. But, by this time, the approaches to Calais on the side of Boulogne, St. Omer, and Gravelines, were

[1] Dated March, 1404, in ROT. PARL., iii, 534. [2] ANN., 377. [3] RYM., viii, 336. [4] *Ibid*, viii, 337. [5] ROY. LET., i, 187, 190. [6] *Ibid*, i, 171. [7] ANN., 377.

closed by French troops, and proclamation had been made by the Duke of Burgundy, forbidding [1]intercourse or trade between the English and all subjects of the King of France.

Accordingly, on the [2]1st of December, ten days after the time fixed for the negociations to be opened, the English Commissioners reported that they had received no answer to their proposals, and had reason to expect that none would now come

Moreover, certain questions of a similar nature had been long pending between the English on one side and the inhabitants of the Flemish cities of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres on the other. But these had apparently been in a fair way of settlement, and in the previous summer it had been arranged that representatives of both sides should [3]meet at Calais on July 1st, to re-establish friendly relations between the two trading com munities of England and Flanders. A further prorogation had been arranged till [4]November 10th, but, although the English had taken the initiative in making restitution to a merchant of Ypres [5](John Paldyng), yet the Flemish showed no signs of meeting them in the saine spirit, but even seized more English goods at Sluys while the question of restitution was still pending, and the Duke of Burgundy, as Count of Flanders, had his own reasons for wishing to keep the grievance open.

Accordingly, on [6]November 29th, representatives of the Flemish towns came to Calais with credentials from the Duke, expressing their willingness still to treat, but objecting to Calais as the meeting-place, and suggesting Lenlingham or some other neutral ground. For some time past Flemish and other foreign merchants had declined to purchase their wool at Calais, [7]"for fear of the riots and troubles occurring every day by land and sea," thus causing a grievous loss to the staple at Calais. The

[1] "In continctibus seu mercimoniis."—ROY. LET., i, 172. [2] *Ibid*, i, 431. [3] RYM., viii, 312, where date should be June 14th, not July. [4] ROY. LET., i, 179. [5] *Ibid*, i, 183. [6] *Ibid*, i, 430. [7] ROT. PARL., iii, 529, 538.

present objection of the Flemish commissioners was considered unreasonable by the English; nevertheless, for the sake of peace, it was agreed to submit the question of the place of meeting for the opinion of the English King. In the end, a change of venue was granted, and a hope was expressed that matters might be arranged by [1]January 12th, at the latest.

In the meantime, however, piracy did not cease. [2]English vessels from Calais seized a Flemish ship, bringing wine from Rochelle to Schiedam; and a corsair from Bruges captured an English vessel bringing hides from Ireland, and drowned every man of the crew. Retaliation of course followed; and, on the [3]18th of January, the German merchants at Bruges complained that a vessel had been seized and detained by the English. By the [4]10th of January, there was still delay in the negotiations, and the English representatives, whose presence was required at the approaching meeting of Parliament at Westminster, were pressing the Flemish Deputies urgently for a reply before the 20th of January.

On the other hand, having received no answer from the French side to their message forwarded on the 18th of November, they proceeded to address a vigorous despatch to the Duke of Burgundy, requesting an immediate reply as to the position which he intended to assume in reference to the proposed release of prisoners and the future negociations for a treaty in the following March, and asking for a clear understanding both as to the proclamation suspending intercourse between the traders of the two countries, and as to the action of the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol, "for," they said, "it is a grievous thing, absurd, dishonourable, inconsistent, unreasonable, and amazing that it should be tolerated in France, that this Duke and this Count should be allowed to make war, by land and by sea, against the English, on the pretence of their

[1] ROY. LET., i, 184. [2] *Ibid*, i, 196. [3] *Ibid*, i, 208. [4] *Ibid*, i, 203.

own private and personal quarrels against the English King, and to have the whole kingdom of France, with all its wealth and all its people, at their back, like an embattled castle, under the protection of which they may break treaties and violate their oaths."

This despatch was forwarded to the Duke of Burgundy on [1]December 4th, 1403, but up to the 4th of January, 1404, no reply had been received, pending the [2]meeting of a Great Council, which was to be held in Paris on January 6th.

At the time that the above despatch was written, it was known that vast numbers of vessels and armed men had been collected in the different ports of France. Moreover, while the grievance with Flanders was being kept open, the Count of St. Pol had been able to keep armed vessels in all the Flemish ports Gravelines, Dunkirk, Nieuport, Ostende, and [3]Biervliet (in the Scheldt), from whence they were able to pounce upon the unprotected merchant ships of the English, which were plundered of goods and provisions to the extent of £20,000. [4]The vessels themselves were often rammed and sunk, while the drowning crews were cruelly shot from the enemy's decks, while struggling to save themselves in the water.

Early in December, the Count prepared to cross the water, and, in accordance with the feudal etiquette of the day, he sent a herald across to Henry, to carry his defiance. [4]But scouts had been kept constantly employed to watch the movements of the French, and by this time tidings had found their way across, that the Earl had actually started at the head of a large force with the avowed intention of invading England. Consternation spread over the country at the news. The King was at Coventry, where he had been obliged to abandon the

[1] Roy. Let., i, 170. [2] *Ibid*, i, 199. [3] Spelt "Berflete."—*Ibid*, i, 349. [4] "A fait sursigler, submerger et effondrer."—*Ibid*, i, 221; cf. i, 196. [4] Pells Issue Roll, 5 H. IV., Mich. (December 3rd), contains two entries of payments to these "exploratores." (66s. 8d.)

projected idea of holding a Parliament. A great Council, however, [1]as we have seen, had been actually held, and a certain limited amount of business had been transacted. We have still a [2]list preserved, containing the names of 8 Bishops, 18 Abbots, 19 Barons and Nobles, and 96 members representing 22 Eastern, Southern, and Midland counties. No boroughs are represented on the list, and it is probable that the Northern and Western counties were omitted because of their poverty and nearness to the seats of war. The King was still conducting negociations with the Earl of Northumberland at Baginton, the tenor of which will appear in the next chapter.

By the assembly, so constituted, the sudden news of the approaching invasion of the French, in mid-winter, was received with amazement. The heralds were [3]admitted, charged with insolent and provoking messages from the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol, [4]in defiance of all recognized rules of courtesy and diplomatic usage. The effect of this was only to provoke an enthusiastic declaration of allegiance, on the part of the assembled Lords and others, to their sovereign in the presence of immediate danger.

In London, the Council did not wait for the return of the King. The time for negociating was past. [5]Forces were at once collected at Southampton, whither the Sheriffs of Hampshire and Wiltshire were required to repair with the levies of their counties, together with those of Dover, Sandwich, Pevensey, and others of the Cinque Ports, to be prepared to face any emergency. Letters were likewise posted to the Sheriffs of various other counties, with instructions to be ready when called upon for the national defence; the King declaring his intention to be amongst them in person, if the danger should really seem sufficiently pressing.

[1] Page 385. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 85. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 525. [4] "Curialitatis spretâ formâ."—RYM., viii, 348. [5] *Ibid*, viii, 342, dated December 9th, 1403.

Meantime the Count of St. Pol had made for the Isle of Wight, where he landed without any difficulty on [1]December 6th, and summoned the inhabitants to submit, threatening them with destruction if they should disobey. But it was soon manifest that all the outcry and pother was uncalled for; and, on the [2]13th of December, the King, who was now back again in London, sent a second notice to many of the Sheriffs, countermanding the urgent orders which they had only two days before received. The preparations were accordingly slacked, and the panic subsided as rapidly as it had arisen.

The French had landed 1,000 men on the island, boasting that they would spend their Christmas there. They captured a [3]few fishermen, with their nets and tackle, and advanced a little way from the coast. The people, who lived largely by [4]wrecking, ran away to their shelter and abandoned their sheep and cattle, which, of course, were quickly seized. The plunderers then threatened to set fire to the farm buildings and sheepfolds *(ovailles)*, and demanded money. [5]A priest intervened and offered that he would himself collect the money from the poor inhabitants, if only their dwellings might be spared. Four days thus passed, and, in the meantime, vessels with English troops had crossed from Southampton. At the news of their approach the French took the alarm, withdrew to their ships and decamped amidst the ridicule of their enemies, which was increased when it became known that the Count had knighted some of his followers on the island, on the strength of his first success. Very little trace was left of the sudden scare; and at the opening of the Parliament at Westminster, within a month afterwards (January 14th, 1404), the English Chancellor was able to say with truth, that the French had "neither ventured to wait nor to stay *(qu'il n'osa illoeques attendre ne demurer)*."

[1] RYM., viii, 342. [2] *Ibid*, viii, 343. [3] "Prins certains pouvres peschours et lour reis et apparlois."—ROY. LET., i, 222. [4] PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 3, in tergo. [5] JUV., 158.

The Count gained nothing in reputation from this last escapade. His lands were ravaged by the English garrison at Calais, and he returned crestfallen [1]to Paris by December 26th; while Henry and his Queen retired with easier minds to spend their Christmas at the monastery of St. Mary, at [2]Abingdon, and thence for a few days to [3]Sutton, near Kingston, before the opening of Parliament.

Thus the question of French filibustering seemed to have received a prompt check, and arrangements were entered into by the Duke of Burgundy for a meeting at Lenlingham on [4]March 1st, 1404, at which the Flemish question should be discussed also.

In the North of England, the troubles had greatly quieted down. After the arrest and imprisonment of the Earl of Northumberland, in the middle of August, the spirit of disaffection had seemed quite crushed out; but the measures which the King proposed to take for the complete subjugation of the Percies were not so easy of accomplishment. The castles of Prudhoe and Langley appear to have passed into the power of the King's officers without resistance; but the northern strongholds of Berwick, Warkworth, and Alnwick, were still in the hands of Earl Percy's partisans. More than two months had elapsed since the battle of Shrewsbury, and the castles were not yet given up. The King was absent in the West. A rumour was started that he was dead, and that the Earl of Northumberland was again at large. Some said that the Earl was at York, others at Beverley. Armed bands of his tenants assembled in the North, wearing on their arm the crescent, the badge of the house of Percy. The remaining Scottish prisoners

[1] "Infra octabas natalis Domini."—EULOG., iii, 399; with ROY. LET., i, 187. [2] ANN., 378; CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 12, 20; PAT., 5 H. IV., 1, 13, dated Abingdon, December 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th; also letter, dated Abingdon, December 29th, in ROY. LET., i, 188. [3] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 28, quoted in ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 82. [4] ROY. LET., i, 211, 214.

were still at Cockermouth, and it seemed dangerous to attempt to get them transferred to the royal officers. Alnwick and Warkworth were held by [1]Henry Percy, a son of Sir Thomas Percy, one of the sons of the Earl of Northumberland. Sir William Clifford, the captain of Berwick Castle, openly refused to surrender his command, and the royal troops who had come to claim the castle [2]clamoured mutinously for rest and wages.

A Council of the King's officers in the North assembled in the Abbey at Durham (September 25th, 1403), to take measures to meet the dangers that seemed to threaten. It was decided to at once summon the three castles of Berwick, Alnwick, and Warkworth; but the captains of the castles, while professing loyalty to the King, insisted that they held their command by virtue of Letters Patent, which they could not disregard without express orders under the seal of the Earl of Northumberland.

Word was at once [3]despatched to the King, urging that his presence would be required in the North immediately on his return from Wales, and that, in the meantime, it would be necessary to forward by sea "engines, canonz, and [4]artillery (*i.e.*, bows and arrows), and other things necessary to attack the castles;" and that the Constable of Cockermouth should be threatened with punishment, if he did not at once hand over the castle and the Scottish prisoners to the King's officers.

About the same time [5](October 7th), a warrant was issued authorizing Robert Waterton, to arrest Elizabeth, the widow of Henry Percy and sister to Sir Edmund Mortimer; and the Lord de Say, on behalf of the King, proceeded to Baginton, where he had an interview with the imprisoned Earl (October 14th). The Earl agreed to send to London for his Great Seal, with

[1] Called filius "Thomæ Percy, Chivaler."—CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 27. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 216. [3] See the despatch, without date, *Ibid*, i, 209, probably October, 1403, not July, as Sir H. Nicholas. [4] Cf. I. SAM., xx, 40; also "armure and artelries."—CHAUCER, Melibeus, p. 395. [5] ROT. VIAG., 21, dated Gloucester, October 7th, 1403.

which he was willing to seal any instructions that the King might require, and so the commotion subsided of itself.

[1]On November 3rd, orders were issued that the head of Henry Percy should be taken down from the walls of York, and the pieces of his body collected from the gates of London, Bristol, Chester, and Newcastle, and given up to his widow Elizabeth for burial. On [2]November 23rd, the King issued a proclamation offering pardon and restitution to all persons concerned in the late rebellion, for all acts committed before [3]September 7th, 1403, provided that they sued for it before the next Epiphany (*i.e.*, January 6th, 1404). [4]William Clifford, the guardian of Hotspur's young son, Henry, and captain of the castle of Berwick, demanded that the boy's forfeited lands and goods should be restored as a condition of the submission of the three castles; and it is likely that his claim might have been granted. On the [5]30th of November, instructions were issued to Thomas Nevill, Lord Furnival, to enter into negociations with the commanders, and, on December 3rd, he was authorized to take over the castles in the name of the King. [6]On December 6th, Henry Percy, son of Sir Thomas Percy and grandson of the Earl of Northumberland, was summoned to give up Alnwick and Warkworth, and to come and remain about the person of the King. Clifford also was to give up Berwick. But these wished-for events were not to happen so easily, and on [7]January 13th, the very day before the Parliament met, the Constable of Bamborough Castle wrote to the King that the three castles of Berwick, Alnwick, and Warkworth, still held out, and that Clifford, acting for the boy, Henry Percy, had again assembled a large force wearing the crescent, and sworn to uphold the Percies against the King or any of his supporters. Bamborough

[1]CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 28. [2]RYM., viii, 338; ANN., 377; CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 28. [3]ROT. PARL., iii, 544. [4]ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 79. [5]ROT. SCOT., ii, 165. [6]CLAUS. 5 H. IV.. 1, 27. [7]ROY. LET., i, 206.

Castle was safe; but the King was urgently pressed to repair to the North himself, lest worse mischief should ensue. As late as Friday, January 25th, ten days after the meeting of Parliament, these castles are spoken of as still held by main force [1]*(ove forte main).*

The [2]Duke of Albany meanwhile had expressed a desire for a truce, and on [3]December 24th, 1403, two Commissioners were appointed to re-open the negociations with Scotland. But no serious wish for friendliness was really entertained by the Scots, and an embassy was soon to arrive in Scotland which would prevent any settlement between the Scots and English. At a great Council held in [4]Paris (January 6th, 1404), it was decided to propose a marriage between a French Princess and the son of the Earl of Douglas, who was then believed in Paris to have the best chance of succeeding the feeble Robert on the throne of Scotland, and envoys were to be sent forthwith to Scotland to negotiate upon this proposal. Thus there was every prospect of a stormy future when the Parliament should meet in London.

[1]ROT. PARL., iii, 523. [2]ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 82. [3]RYM., viii, 345. [4]ROY. LET., i, 205.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE WAR TREASURERS.

ON Monday, [1]January 14th, 1404, Henry's Fifth Parliament met at Westminster. A [2]Council attended by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, Sir Arnold Savage, John Norbury, and Thomas Erpingham, had met at Sutton, on the previous Friday to arrange preliminaries. The sittings were held at eight o'clock in the morning, and continued for twelve weeks, or nearly three months, a length quite unusual in those times. It was noted amongst contemporaries for [3]much talk and little work. Yet in the midst of the wearisome iteration, which covers the Records of the Parliaments of this period, there are a few striking points which break in upon the monotony, and make this Parliament more noteworthy than any of its predecessors.

The Chancellor (Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln), in his opening address, recalled the reasons why the members had been summoned. The proposed Parliament at Coventry had proved abortive; an attempt had been made to assemble a Great Council at Westminster on the days just preceding Christmas, but both had been adjourned till the formal meeting of the full Parliament, regularly summoned and legally constituted. The Chancellor enumerated the old familiar causes of apprehension; the rebellion in Wales, the expected attacks of the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol, the danger to Calais and Guienne from the French, the wars in Scotland and Ireland, and the late insurrection of the Percies. But in addition to

[1]ROT. PARL., iii, 522-544. [2]PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 5 H. IV., MICH., December 21st. [3]"Plura locuta sunt, pauca fuere statuta pro communi commodo."—ANN., 378.

these, there was now a Flemish question to add to the complications abroad. In Calais, and on the Marches, [1]"poverty, distress, and misery" prevailed; the payments to the garrison were in arrears; the source of income from the staple was drying up, owing to the insecurity of property at sea and on land. The town itself was no place for decent men to live in; the [2]streets were blocked with fetid heaps of offal and filth; strangers entering the town were "struck with abominable horror," and merchants had declared that they must remove to some healthier spot. At home, the revenue from customs and other profits had [3]suddenly diminished. The members sat in [4]daily expectation of news that the country had been again invaded, and that their sittings would be at any moment suspended. Bands of assassins and felons were at large in the country, waylaying travellers, robbing, maiming, and mutilating. The Northern Castles still obstinately refused to recognize the King's authority, and a deep feeling of resentment was everywhere apparent, that, in spite of all the liberal grants of former years, the country was still farther than ever from a settled and prosperous condition.

On Tuesday, January 15th, Sir Arnold Savage was chosen Speaker, and his appointment was received with the same general approval with which it had been hailed in the Parliament of 1401.

The proceedings throughout this Parliament indicate an agreement and common action between the Lords and the Commons, which, in the end, proved too strong for the King and his Council to disregard. Petitions were sent up, requesting reforms in the collecting of the revenue and in granting annuities, and on Friday, January 25th, the Chancellor, and the

[1] Roy. Let., i, 285, 290. [2] Per fimos, fimaria, feditates et alia sordida.—Claus. 2 H. IV., 1, 11, March 15th, 1401. [3] "Si sodeynment amesnusez."—Rot. Parl., iii, 523. [4] Sur sodeins novelx d'arrival des Esnemys mesme cest Parlement de necessité serroit de tout departiz et dissolvez.—*Ibid*, iii, 524.

Treasurer (Lord Ross of [1]Hamlake), attended the meeting of the Commons in the Refectory, and gave promises of favourable consideration in the King's name. They made a statement of the immense expenses incurred by the King and the Council, specially in reference to Owen Glendour (whose activity and restlessness were extending to all parts of North and South Wales), and to the recovery of the castles in the North, with the prospect of still further trouble from that quarter. In reply, the Speaker requested that deputations of the Commons might deliberate and confer with the Lords, in order that by their combined efforts the best means might be taken to suggest the most necessary reforms. The request seemed reasonable, and was not refused.

Meanwhile, arrangements had been progressing for the pacification of the North. The Earl of Northumberland had been examined at Baginton, and had given a full account of his share in the late rebellion. The Judges had been consulted, and were prepared with their opinion.

On Wednesday, February 6th, 1404, the Earl came in person before the King, the Lords, and the Commons, presenting a petition in which he placed himself wholly in the King's hands, and prayed for pardon, appealing to Henry's promise made to him at York, in the previous August. The Lords then, acting on the opinion of the Judges, declared that his offence was not treason as defined by the Statute, and that it was, consequently, punishable, not with death, but with fine and ransom, at the discretion of the King. Hereupon the Earl offered his grateful thanks, and asked that he might be allowed again to take the oath of allegiance. He then, before the whole assembly, swore to be a faithful and loyal subject to the King and his heirs. Upon this the King not only gave him his liberty, but generously remitted the fine, though the lands of [2]Henry and Thomas Percy remained forfeited on account of their open treason.

[1] STUBBS, iii, 42. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 538.

The Earl then prayed, that, if ever in the future he should do anything against the King, other than loyalty required, none should intercede for him, but that the law should be left to do its extreme worst. He likewise made a public declaration that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York, and others, had been unjustly suspected of complicity with the rebellion, and the King, at a subsequent date (February 22nd), gave an assurance that they should not be molested on account of this suspicion.

Then, by the King's command, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were publicly reconciled. In the presence of all, they shook hands and kissed each other three times, agreeing on their return to the North to reconcile their tenants and servants, and promising that all should live henceforth in unity and amity together.

On Friday, February 22nd, a similar reconciliation was effected between the Earl of Northumberland and the Scottish Earl of March.

It was declared that those only were guilty of treason who had actually taken arms with the Percies, but such persons might clear themselves, as we have seen, if they had sued for pardon before January 6th. Subsequently [1](March 20th), a general pardon was granted to all who were still at large, for all acts of rebellion committed on the Border of Wales, or in the North, before the 14th of January (the opening day of the Parliament), provided that they sued for it within forty days, either to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York in Wales, or to Prince John or the Earl of Westmoreland on the Borders of Scotland. No hope of mercy, however, was held out to John Warde, of Trumpington, the impostor who was personating King Richard in Scotland, or to his chief abettors, William Serle and Amye Donet. Letters purporting to be written by

[1] RYM., viii, 353; ROT. PARL., iii, 544; STAT., ii, 143.

Richard were produced in the Parliament, and [1]Waterton, who had had charge of him at Pontefract, was called and questioned. His answer was that he was ready to fight with any man who dared maintain that King Richard was alive.

The Commons thanked the Lords for their righteous judgment in regard to the Earl of Northumberland, and the King for his clemency in remitting the fine and ransom. Then all with one consent *(d'une volunte et d'un assent)* renewed their declaration of allegiance to the King and to his family, while the King, in his turn, thanked them and begged them to ask whatever they thought for the common good, and it should never be refused.

Arrangements proceeded for the transfer of the northern castles. On [2]February 9th, the Constable of the Tower of London was ordered to take over the custody of Murdoch, Earl of Fife, the son of the Duke of Albany, who had before been kept at Cockermouth, and with him many Scottish prisoners. On February 22nd, it was ordered that they should be closely guarded and not allowed to be at large, lest they should act as spies on returning. But on [3]March 13th, eleven of them were allowed to journey to their own country to arrange for ransoms, on condition that they returned within four months. On March 14th, permission was granted for William Douglas, with eight knights, to pass from Scotland into England, to confer with the King. This safe-conduct was to be available up till the 1st of May.

Thus it would seem that harmony prevailed and universal good temper, but there is evidence enough that burning questions were fiercely active beneath this seeming goodly outside.

In reading the Roll of this Parliament it is noteworthy that, contrary to the usual practice, no record occurs of the sanction

[1] EULOG., iii, 400. [2] RYM., viii, 346. [3] ROT. SCOT., i, 166.

of the customary grants to the King, or of the date at which the sittings ceased to be held. Thomas of Walsingham, writing a generation later, says: "In this Parliament there was granted to the King a [1]novel tax, galling to the people and highly oppressive. I would have given a description of it here, except that those who suggested it and those who granted it would prefer that it should remain for ever a secret." But from contemporary chronicles and from hints in the Parliament Rolls, we have sufficient evidence, which, being pieced together, gives a tolerably distinct clue to the mystery.

On the King's side, as usual, the cry was ever for more money. The revenue from the customs had suddenly failed. Foreign merchants, finding themselves so heavily burdened by vexatious restrictions in trading, were beginning to purchase their wool in Calais, where the duty for them was much lower. In 1398, the Parliament at Shrewsbury had added a noble (half-mark) per sack to the amount to be paid by foreign merchants, thus raising it from 53s. 4d. to 60s. Wool could be purchased in Calais, by paying a duty of 50s. per sack, by all, whether Englishmen or foreigners. Consequently the foreign traders were purchasing through their Flemish agents at Calais, and the English revenue was thus a great loser. In [2]November, 1404, the foreign merchants requested that the custom charged to them might be brought down to 53s. 4d., the figure at which it stood before 1397, when the custom charged to English dealers was 50s. They showed that foreign merchants were then buying from 4,000 to 6,000 sacks of wool less in England each year than formerly, all this wool being still purchased at Calais, where the custom was only 50s. They pointed out that they were willing to pay the 53s. 4d., and that this would benefit the revenue to the extent of £1,000 on every 6,000 sacks.

[1] "Taxa insolita et incolis tricabilis et valde gravis.—WALS., ii, 260.
[2] ROT. PARL., iii, 553.

Serious loss was likewise caused by the disturbed state of the country, especially on the borders of Wales and Scotland, where it was becoming impossible to collect the dues and taxes with any approach to regularity. It was estimated that the [1]falling off of revenue from Wales alone had already amounted to £60,000; while in [2]Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, it was deemed politic again to remit the taxation, owing to the rebellious spirit and the utter poverty of the population.

In face of this alarming deficit some new form of taxation must be devised, and the King's advisers, acting probably on a plan submitted in the preliminary Great Council at Westminster, proposed a sort of modified Income Tax, which should fall sweepingly on all the owners of land or house property, and, as these were just the classes best represented in the Parliament, the struggle was long and the opposition severe. It was proposed that those who held by military tenure should pay 20s. for every Knight's fee and a proportionate sum for fractional parts; that other owners of land or houses should pay 1s. for every 20s. annual value of their land or houses; that those who were not owners of land or houses, but who possessed property of any kind of the clear value of £20, should pay at the rate of 1s. for every £20 of value. All exemptions were to be swept away; pensions and church property (if acquired since the passing of the Statute of Edward I.) were to be subjected to the tax; the special privileges of the Palatine County of Durham were to be over-ruled, and exemptions were only to be permitted in the case of properties laid waste on the Borders of Wales and Scotland, or destroyed by floods or inroads of the sea.

On Friday, January 25th, the Treasurer appeared before the Commons, and set forward his proposals. He made a statement of the large sums required for the defence of the country, and

[1] USK, 83. [2] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 25, dated March 16th, 1404.

the prosecution of the war with Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and France, and [1]urgently requested their consent to his scheme.

The Speaker answered that the wars were not the chief of England's troubles, and, even if they were, the King had all the revenues of the Crown and of the Duchy of Lancaster, as well as the customs and tolls, which in themselves amounted now to a larger sum than the whole of the crown revenues together. Besides, the King had Wardships of all the lands of the nobility, and these Wardships and Customs were granted originally to cover the cost of wars, so that the country might not be subject to taxation.

The Treasurer argued that the King could not give up ancestral lands in which he had only a life interest, so that taxation became a necessity. "If that is so," replied the Speaker, "let the tolls and customs be reduced." "That cannot be," said the Treasurer, "for the King must have what his predecessors had before him."

The Speaker then drew attention to the abuses that already existed in allotting the sums previously voted. Castles, manors, lands, and annuities were granted lavishly by the King, without thought of the poverty of the nation. [2]Knights, who at the King's landing were not worth 100 marks, could now command five or ten times that sum. Esquires and Bachelors were as rich as Barons. Yet all this time the King said he had nothing, while these were growing richer every year. In the King's household and in the royal domains abuses abounded. The profits from forests and from grazing were not employed for their proper purpose, *i.e.*, to keep up the royal estates, but given away to others, and then fresh grants were demanded to meet the necessary costs of maintenance and repairs. Establishments were maintained for the King, at Westminster, Windsor, and the Tower of London, besides the castles of Berkhampstead,

[1] Eulog., iii, 399. [2] *Ibid*, iii, 400.

Wallingford, Rockingham, Nottingham, Odiham, and Ledes. All these were kept up at the public expense, and, in addition to these, the manors of Kenton (near Kingston), Eltham, Claryngton, Shene, Sutton, Byflete, Chiltern Langley, Woodstock, Easthampstead, Havering-atte-Bower, Henley on the Heath, Cosham, Bickley, Clipstone, Isleworth (where the King spent a small portion of each year), and lodges at Beckeswood and Hatheburgh, for hunting, in the [1]New Forest. Windsor was singled out as a glaring instance, where abuses in the administration were most scandalous.

To give the reader some idea of the enormously disproportionate cost of royalty to the country, it may be profitable here to refer to an estimate which is still preserved, and relates apparently to the present year, 1404. In this document the revenue from tenths and fifteenths is estimated to produce £16,612 5s. 6d., and the money required to meet expenses before the ensuing Michaelmas, is set down at £15,650; but of this amount no less than [2]£6,000, or considerably over one-third, is required for the King's and Queen's expenses. The rest has to be used for such purposes as Calais, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and the repayment of loans from the merchants of London, &c.; while several items, such as the arrears of dower

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 23. [2] Thus :—

King's Household	£3666	13	4
Do. Chamber	333	6	8
Queen's Annuity	1333	6	8
Debts of Household	666	13	4
	£6000	0	0

Against this is set, for :—

Ireland	£1000	0	0
Scotland	2200	0	0
Wales	3000	0	0
	£6200	0	0

ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 96.

for the Princess Blanche, are entered in the estimate, but not provided for.

Let it be remembered also, that, in addition to the provision made for the King's four sons, who received constantly augmenting grants of manors and lands, the country had now to find 10,000 marks per annum for the dower of the Queen Johanna. Allowing for the relative difference in the value of money, in the [1]usual proportion of twelve to one, the annuity would to-day represent some £80,000 per annum. This shamefully prodigal grant, for which the country received absolutely no return, was made on the 8th of February. But it could not be collected; and it is not surprising to hear that by [2]July 18th, 1404, it had fallen into arrears to the extent of £3,000. With poverty and invasion threatening the country, these arrears must still be made good, and formed a first charge upon the taxation of the clergy, while £1,000 more was to be screwed out of the customs of the port of Boston.

But it may be thought that these handsome provisions enabled the royal pensioners to maintain a princely hospitality, and to give noble bounties to the poor. We can bring this to the test of fact, by examining the [3]Book of the Expenses of the Household of the Prince of Wales, for this very year, ending September 30th, 1404. It is a curious little pamphlet written on parchment, bound in parchment, paged and stitched as a book. It contains the account of Simon Bache, Treasurer of Prince Henry's Household, and forms a unique record, prepared perhaps to meet the dissatisfaction of the country. It sets forth the Prince's receipts for the year, for household expenses, at £3,025 2s. 8d., and shows a deficit at the year's end of £61 14s. 8d. Unfortunately, the bulk of the expenditure had been returned in a separate schedule by the Controllers, and this schedule is now lost; but the book gives details of the

[1] ROGERS, i, 259. [2] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 3, 11, 23. [3] TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{50}{16}$

expenditure of about £425, the items bearing something like the following proportion:—Carriage hire (£65); fees to Treasurer (£8); eight horses purchased, varying from 30s. to 80s. each (£18); shoes for 23 pages and servants, including three females (£15); food, candles, wine, &c. (£119); to a valet, for a journey about some wine (£100); buttery and pantry, including wine, oil, meat, stock fish, &c. (£95). And then come the gifts:—Presents to servants, &c., 21s. 7d.; offertories in church, 16s. 8d. This last handsome sum was spread over four great occasions, when the Prince attended High Mass at Shrewsbury and Lichfield, viz.: Lady Day, Ascension, and Whitsuntide; on each of which festivals he contributed the modest sum of 3s. 4d. for himself and his retinue; on the fourth occasion, viz.: on his arrival in Shrewsbury, in April, 1404, he attended service in the church of the Friars Preachers, and dropped 6s. 8d. into the plate.

Acting in agreement with the Lords, the Commons now prayed that the King's Confessor and three others should be dismissed from the royal household. On Saturday, February 9th, three of these came before the King and the Lords in Parliament. The King defended his servants, but agreed to dismiss them, nevertheless, in deference to the request of the Lords and Commons, whose wishes, he affected to think, would be most beneficial to himself and the country, and he promised for the future not to retain in his service any persons who should incur the hatred and indignation of his people. The Parliament answered with a prayer that in filling these vacancies the King would appoint men known for their honour and integrity, and certify their names to the Commons and the Lords. On Saturday, March 1st, the names of 22 prominent men [1](including Cheyne, Doreward, and Savage, all of whom

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 530. Though CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 31 (dated October 2nd, 1403), records that Sir Arnold Savage had been one of the Councillors required to stay about the King's person since the previous June 4th (PAT., 4 H. IV., 2, 20).

had acted as Speakers of the House of Commons) were notified as about to be placed on the King's "Great and Continual Council." These names appear as present at the first [1]Council held (April 23rd) after the dismissal of the Parliament, and the names of [2]19 of them were renewed in the following year, 1405.

Following up their success, the Parliament demanded next that foreigners should be dismissed from the Court. All adherents of the Anti-Pope (*i.e.*, Benedict XIII.) were to quit the kingdom, because of the danger to men's souls from contact with them, and because they might betray secrets to the enemies of the country. Other Catholics (as some Dutch or Germans) must be sent to serve in Border fortresses. Scotch prisoners were not to be allowed at large. No Welshman was to be near the King's person, and all Bretons, French, Lombards, Italians, and Navarrese were to be removed from the royal household, except the Queen's [3]daughters, and one lady (Marie Sante) in attendance on them, together with two Breton gentlemen and their wives. To all of these requests the King agreed (Thursday, February 21st), and orders were issued accordingly on the following day, except that ten persons were to be allowed to remain in attendance on the Queen and her daughters, and Antoine Rys (her former proxy) was to be allowed to visit her, though forbidden to live in the royal household.

But all these concessions on the King's part did not make the new taxation palatable to his people. A vigorous opposition was still maintained, and it was claimed that if the obnoxious proposal were conceded, special officers called [4]"War Treasurers" should be appointed to superintend the administration of the grant and to assure its allotment for war purposes and no other.

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 222. [2] *Ibid*, i, 237. [3] Though EULOG. (iii, 400) says that the Queen's daughters were sent away. Cf. LEL. COL., ii, 313. [4] "Guerrarum Thesaurarii."—ANN., 379.

The King was being reduced to great straits. Payments for the food and wages of the royal houses were stopped, and, on Saturday, March 1st, the Archbishop of Canterbury (whose name appears at the head of the 22 members of the Council specially charged with the duty of checking financial abuses) came before the Commons to deliver the King's decision. He admitted that the government of the royal houses had not been perfection in the past, but promised that in future the laws should be observed, that equal justice should be done to all, and that the common law should be paramount over all letters under Privy Seal. He requested that immediate attention might be given to the question of payment to the members of the household. But he [1]could not sanction the request for the appointment of War Treasurers, though he suggested that, if other future wars should break out and seem to require such a measure, he would be ready then to consider it. As a temporary expedient, it was ordered [2](March 1st) by the Council [3]that £12,000 should be allotted annually as a first charge upon the Customs of certain ports, and on other established sources of revenue, to cover the expenses of the royal households.

In this the Commons were not consulted. Their consent was not necessary, as the sums dealt with were for the present beyond their control. But to the imposition of the new tax they resolutely maintained their opposition, or at least required, as an absolute condition, that the money so raised should be under the control of Treasurers in whom they could have confidence. For nearly six weeks they held their ground. At length serious news arrived from Wales and France. [4]Worn out by delay, and by the large expense thus thrown upon their constituents, they agreed to a compromise. The tax, amounting

[1] "Feust outre la volentee mesme nre. sr. le Roy."—ROT. PARL., iii, 529. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 528; PAT., 5 H. IV, 2, 16; CLAUS. 5 H. IV, 2, 6. [3] Not £10,000, as CHRON. GILES, 36. [4] "Attœdiati de morâ."—EULOG., iii, 400.

to about a fifteenth (or 6⅔ per cent.), was granted on condition that it should not afterwards be brought in as a precedent, and that no evidence of it should be kept, either in the Royal Treasury or in the Exchequer, but that writs or records of it should be at once burnt after the account had been made up, and that no briefs or commissions should be subsequently issued either against the collectors or inspectors employed in the business. Four persons, viz.: [1]John [2]Oudeby, (a [3]churchman from [4]Rutland), John Hadley, Thomas Knolles, and Richard Merlawe (citizens of [5]London), were commissioned to receive the money thus to be raised, and to control its expenditure. The King assented to their appointment and the necessary documents were prepared, but in the stir of other news, it was said that his signature was overlooked; and after signing a few warrants, and exercising a supervision for a few months, the "War Treasurers" were tacitly dropped, and the victory was supposed to rest with the King.

So, at least, it was afterwards asserted. But there is plenty of evidence that the War Treasurers were legally and constitutionally appointed in every respect, and that their influence was felt in the direction of economy throughout the ensuing summer, under the directions of the "Great Council."

The Close Roll for the year contains an entry dated [6]March 20th, 1404, according to which it is decreed that from March 25th next, the "Treasurers of our Wars" should receive, keep, and spend the subsidy. The warrant is still extant, dated [7]March 25th, 1404, calling upon the Treasurer and Chamberlains of the Exchequer, to receive tallies from collectors, "through the Treasurers of War appointed to receive Customs,

[1] He had been made a Chamberlain of the Exchequer in the previous reign, through the influence of the Earl of Warwick, and was by Henry continued in his office.—PELLS ISSUE ROLL, 1 H. IV., MICH., (January 17th, 1400). [2] Spelt "Owdeby," in PAT. 3 H. IV., 2, 1. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 220. [4] *Ibid*, ii, 74, 76. [5] ANN., 379. [6] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 5. [7] *Ibid*, 2, 2.

subsidies, tonnage, and poundage." On the [1]23rd of April they are called "Treasurers assigned for the Wars." On the [2]13th of May, they were again recognized in official documents. On the [3]8th of June, they were still exercising their powers of control. On the [4]5th of July, we have a record that the citizens of York had advanced 300 marks, and the Archbishop of Canterbury 1,000 marks, to the "Treasurers of Wars." On the [5]24th of July, they were still appealed to in all payments connected with war expenses. On the [6]18th of August, they refused to acknowledge a warrant signed by the King as informal, and they were checking payments as late as [7]September 19th and 26th. On [8]November 14th, two successors were appointed to take the office; while in the [9]Public Record Office a mutilated seal may still be seen showing a lion rampant with the inscription: *S(igillum) Thes(aurariorum) Guerræ ordinat. (orum) anno quinto H.(enrici) R.(egis) quarti.*

But whichever side might ultimately claim the victory, the King was too wary to attempt another such contest, and the experiment was not again repeated, both sides being content to let it lie in oblivion rather than jeopardize their position by bringing their rights again into question.

And so, about the second week in April, the Parliament was dissolved. The writs for expenses are dated [10]March 20th, and this has led [11]writers to conclude that the Parliament was

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 220. [2] RYM., viii, 259. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 268 (not 1405). [4] PAT. 5 H. IV., 2, 12. [5] ROY. LET., i, 281. [6] *Ibid*, i, 434. [7] *Ibid*, i, 333, 337. [8] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 87. [9] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC., $\frac{40}{20}$ where receipt is given by Treasurer and Chamberlain on behalf of the Council, for sums received and paid out between March 25th and December 11th, 1404, by the "Receivers," viz.: Oudeby, Hadley, Knolles, and Merlawe, there styled, "Receptores ordinati et assignati per literas patentes dni. nri. Regis ad Recepcoem. subsidii lanar. corior. et pellm. lanutar. et pesagii, et pondagii, in parlt. S. Hilarii, 5, H. IV." [10] PRYNNE, 4, 464; CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 9; some of the allowances are for 83 and 84 days' attendance, but these are only for members from distant counties, such as Devonshire, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. The average payment is for 70 to 75 days. [11] Including STUBBS (iii, 45).

dissolved by that date. But besides the direct testimony of a trustworthy contemporary, to the effect that the sittings extended over [1]twelve weeks, the Rolls themselves include a deed signed on the 6th of April, and subsequently ratified by the King, [2]"in full Parliament." I incline therefore to think that the discrepancy in the dates for the payment of expenses is only another evidence of the violence of the Parliamentary contest that was raging, and that the constituencies were charged with the payment of the members' expenses, only so long as the King wished to keep them at their posts.

The difficulty of the King's position is further illustrated by the action of the clergy in their Convocations.

While the struggle was at its height at Westminster, the King issued an order (dated [3]March 16th) to the Archbishop of York, to summon the clergy of the Northern Province to meet at York, and vote money "for his immediate necessity," but there is evidence that his order was not obeyed. [4]The payments due from the clergy were of special value at the moment, as the King contended that no supervision over them could be lawfully claimed by the War Treasurers. On the [5]6th of May, a further order was issued, but in less peremptory terms, requiring the meeting to take place on June 24th. The Convocation of the Province of Canterbury had not met as usual at the opening of the Parliament at Westminster in January, perhaps on account of the advances made in the Synod, held in London in the previous October. The Convocation met, however, on [6]April 1st, 1404, but the attendance being insufficient, the Archbishop of Canterbury issued a fresh summons of unusual urgency to his clergy, to present themselves without fail at St. Paul's, on the [7]21st of April, under a threat of sequestration for all who

[1] "Per duodecim hebdomadas."—ANN, 378. [2] "En plein parlement."—ROT. PARL., iii, 532. [3] RYM., viii, 353. [4] See the claim asserted in PAT. 5 H. IV., 1, 30, dated April 30th, 1404. [5] RYM., viii, 355; CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 8, [6] DEP. KEEP. 2ND REPT.. p. 182. [7] CONC., iii, 279.

did not attend. In spite of this pressing summons, several of the wealthiest ecclesiastics (including the great Abbots of Evesham and St. Albans) still absented themselves. Their goods were accordingly sequestrated, but of course the [1]sentence was soon reversed. With great grudging, the assembled clergy voted a subsidy and one-tenth, *i.e.*, [2]2s. out of every 20s. on every benefice or office ecclesiastical not yet taxed, and exceeding 100s. per annum in value. They, however, [3]attached as a condition that their goods and equipages should not be at the mercy of the King's purveyors, as heretofore; but that anyone who should claim to act in this way in the future, should be arrested and detained till the King's pleasure should be known. The Convocation was dismissed on the 6th of May, and it is significantly recorded that, when the money was paid, the [4]conditions were forgotten.

Large [5]loans were also obtained about the same time from Genoese and Florentine and other foreign merchants trading with England, on the understanding that they should be exempt from the payment of customs and other dues at the ports of London, Sandwich, and Southampton, until the principal was repaid.

[1] Conc., iii, 280. [2] Dep. Keep. 2nd Rept., 182. [3] Ann., 388. [4] Wals., ii, 261. [5] Rym., viii, 358.

CHAPTER XXX.

The Commotion in Essex.

The recent failure of the Count of St. Pol, in his attempts at a landing in the Isle of Wight, had not deterred the party of disturbance in France from planning further mischief. We [1]have seen that during the meeting of the Parliament, letters had been produced purporting to be written by King Richard, and that Sir Robert Waterton had been put to the question as to the alleged escape from Pontefract. He stoutly denied the possibility of escape, and defied anyone to prove that Richard was living. But other and more distinguished persons still found it to their account to believe, or affect to believe, the story. Among the most exalted dupes was Mathilda (or Maud), mother of the late Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the favourite of Richard, who had, among other favours, created him Duke of Ireland. The Countess was thus sister-in-law to Aubrey de Vere, who had harboured the Earl of Huntingdon, at Hadley, after the failure of his friends at Cirencester, in January, 1400. Associated with her in the present plot was the Bishop of Norwich, who had not yet learned to respect Henry's power. The Countess and the Bishop now entered into secret communications with the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol, and it was arranged that Queen Isabella, supported by a French force, should land in the Orwell, and that Henry should be seized and put to death. For this purpose it was necessary that the ground should be prepared, and no readier sympathisers could be found than the Clergy of the Eastern counties.

[1]Page 403.

We have seen that the Friars had been the most busy emissaries to scatter through the country expectations of the return of Richard. In the insurrection which ended so fatally at Shrewsbury, the Percies had received large support from the Archbishop and Clergy in the North. In face of the proposals to seize the property of the church, all clerical taxation was eagerly resisted, and at [1]Revesby Abbey, in Lincolnshire, the Abbot, Henry Kay, having understood that the King was about to destroy the possessions of the church, asserted (as early as September 29th, 1403) that it was his intention to secure as much of them as he could for himself, whether legally or not. He then proceeded to make arrangements for dismantling the Abbey, and alienating or selling the Abbey lands. If such a spirit could be manifested in the King's own native district and close to his castle of Bolingbroke, we may be sure that no lack of disaffection existed among the clergy of the coast counties further south, under the lead of such powerful local names as the Bishop of Norwich and the Countess of Oxford. The choice of a landing was left with the French, but they were assured that, if they came in the name of King Charles, they would be well received, either in Essex by the Countess, or in Norfolk by the Bishop. As a result of these communications, it was understood that Ipswich should be the landing place, and the probable date December 28th, 1403.

In Essex there was much disaffection, notably in the neighbourhood of Colchester, Bentley, Colne, Chiche, and Halstead. This district had been from the beginning of Henry's reign a centre of violence and disturbance. In [2]1400, a warfare was raging at the Priory of Earls Colne. [3]Henry Colne and John Preston both claimed to be the rightful Prior. Both appealed to the Pope, who decided in

[1] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC., $\frac{21}{8}$ [a] (8). [2] PAT., 2 H. IV., 1, 12, November 10th, 1400. [3] CLAUS. 2 H. IV., 1, 30, November 19th, 1400.

favour of Colne; but a band of unprincipled friars and others, including Roger Boleyn, John Sumpter, Simon Warde, Reginald Cook, took up the quarrel on behalf of Preston, at the instigation of the Countess of Oxford. They set on the obnoxious Prior, put him in prison, dressed him in a ridiculous costume, and led him about to different towns. They cut down his wood at Messing and Great Bentley, put one of themselves in his office, and made him take an oath that he would not disturb their nominee. But in November, 1400, the King's officers had to interfere. We shall recognize some of the above lawbreakers again.

At Halstead, one [1]John Russell, servant to William Ayleby, of Wykeshoohall, in Suffolk, had preached on the Thursday after Midsummer Day, 1403, that King Richard was returning to England, supported by Owen and the French. In Colchester the plan was communicated to Thomas, Abbot of the great Benedictine Abbey of St. John.

[2]The inmates of the Abbey of St. John, at Colchester, like many of the great monastic bodies, were a turbulent and militant community. In November, 1399, they were engaged in a quarrel with John Morsay, Prior of the Abbey of Snape, in Suffolk. The Prior appealed to the Pope, and the Abbot called in the help of the King. [3]Orders (dated May 3rd, 1400, and [4]July 11th) were issued to have the Prior arrested, and the Abbot (Geoffrey) despatched a party from Colchester, to take the law into their own hands. They included a chaplain (Wm. Sumpter), four monks, and one Robert Boleyn. They broke into the Prior's house, seized swords, bows, and arrows, burnt documents, and lay in wait outside the Abbey. The Prior was in fear for his life, and dared not stir out for a month. His servants were set upon, thrashed, beaten, and wounded. Crops

[1] See deposition of John Stanton, in EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC., $\frac{21a}{8}$ (13). [2] *Ibid*, $\frac{20}{56}$ [3] PAT. 1 H. IV., 6, 3. [4] *Ibid*, 8, 28.

of barley, millet, and wheat were burnt. Cows, pigs, oxen, swans, and hares were carried off, the plunder including 500 [1]perch, the same number of tench, and 1,000 roach. Proceedings were afterwards taken against the Abbot in the Court of Common Pleas, and Abbot Geoffrey and several of the monks were indicted (November 6th, 1401) for attacking the Prior's house and destroying and robbing his property. After that date there would appear to have been a change of Abbots, but the monks retained their pugnacious and destructive propensities.

At first, Abbot Thomas wished to be further convinced before finally committing himself to the plan of invasion. Accordingly, he despatched one whom he could trust to go in person into Scotland, and ascertain if it were true that Richard was alive. His messenger was provided with a ring, as a guarantee of good faith, and so found his way into Scotland. On his return journey he was arrested and thrown into prison at Bury St. Edmunds, but the Abbot went bail for him, and he was released. He brought word that Richard was alive. The Abbot's scruples were removed. He threw himself with energy into the perilous game, resolved [2]that "with his goode and with his meyzt he wold refresch him to his power." So, likewise, did his neighbour, Thomas, Abbot of the Monastery of Austin Canons of St. Osythe, at Chiche, in the marshes of Essex, where convenient landing might be afforded for traitors passing to France or Flanders.

At that time the Northern Castles still held out obstinately against the royal forces, and rumours were spread that the whole of the North was in rebellion. As far back as [3]July 22nd, when Henry was engaged at Shrewsbury, Philip Fitz-Eustace, Prior of St. Botolph's, had spoken in derision of the King at Colchester, as not elected by the magnates and the State of

[1] Evidently a common fish, though ROGERS (i, 608) has found none of them in his accounts. [2] TRAIS., 276. [3] See deposition of Bailiff of Colchester, in EXCHER. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{21^a}{8}$ (6).

England, but by the London rabble. He had at the same time borrowed horses from his fellow-townsmen under promises of payment, but the money had not yet been paid. At the same time John Beche, another of the conspirators, was passing about, having with him a written parchment, certifying that Richard was alive and that the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol would soon land in the Isle of Wight. The success of Henry at Shrewsbury had given a sudden check to rumours in the summer, but, as the winter drew on, the hopes of the conspirators revived.

On Thursday next after November 20th, final arrangements were made for the landing, and it was confidently expected that Queen Isabella would make her appearance in the Orwell on December 28th, attended by the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol. Such, at least, were the representations made to the too-confiding country people on the coasts of Essex and Suffolk, and it is a sign of the prevailing insecurity that, [1]about this time, the port of shipping for wool was changed from Ipswich to Yarmouth.

The 28th of December arrived. Badges with the white hart (Richard's emblem) had been widely distributed, to be worn by all partisans as soon as the conspiracy should make head, and the [2]beacons lately erected by special order on the hills near the shore were carefully destroyed, to prevent the alarm being given at the critical moment. But the Count of St. Pol, on retiring from the Isle of Wight, did not see his way to carry out his part of the programme, and withdrew to Paris, leaving his dupes to get out of their difficulty as best they might.

A week before Christmas, as Thomas Cook, Abbot of Byleigh, near Maldon, was riding back from London, he was met on the road by a messenger from the Abbot of Colchester, who brought him a letter requesting his presence at Colchester to chant a

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 555, 560. [2] "Signa vocata bekones."—CHRON. GILES, 36.

mass at a great function, at which it was expected that "all the gentles of the country" would be present. The Abbot of Byleigh went, as requested, on [1]January 28th, and was there introduced to two men, named Robert Boleyn and William Blythe, with whom he went into the Abbot's private chapel. Blythe was asked for news of the French, but mysteriously refused to give any till after Candlemas (February 2nd).

Towards the end of February, on a Friday, between ten and eleven, Blythe presented himself at Byleigh and requested to see the Abbot. He came to ask that a message might be sent to John Prittlewell, to come over to Byleigh on the following Sunday, to [2]meet "a gentleman from London." Prittlewell will be remembered as the occupant of Barrow Hall, near Wakering in the marshes, where the Earl of Huntingdon had been captured. He had received a grant of 40 marks per annum from Richard; but this had been [3]continued to him, and, moreover, a large contract for repairs to the Tower and the Palace at Westminster had been likewise renewed to him through the favour of King Henry; so that his interest would rather lead him [4]not to meddle with treason. He had already had some talk with the Abbot of Colchester, at Rochford, on Twelfth Tide, and was perhaps not quite so innocent of the conspiracy as he afterwards represented himself to be. Accordingly, on the Sunday following (being the first Sunday in Lent), Prittlewell went with one attendant to Byleigh, and met Blythe dressed "in the gyse of a Knight," with "a grete gylde girdil," which he said he had received from the Earl of Northumberland. They heard two masses and afterwards talked together in the garden, Abbot Cook being partly present at the conversation.

Blythe began by saying that he brought a message from King

[1] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{21}{8}$ [a] (2). [2] "A jentilman yt was to London and wold come azen on ye morow."—TRAIS., 275. [3] PAT., 1 H. IV., 8, 11, November 20th, 1399. [4] PAT., 2 H. IV., 4, 5, March 18th, 1401.

Richard, thanking Prittlewell for all that he had suffered on account of his devotion to himself and to his brother, the Earl of Huntingdon. He said that he had been brought up from a child in Richard's household, and had been knighted by Henry Percy on the field at Shrewsbury, and that he had seen Richard "the Fryday thre weke by fore Christmasse last passed" in a castle in Scotland. He gave the name of the castle, but Prittlewell unfortunately afterwards forgot it, and the only trace that I can find of it now is that [1]it was "a castle belonging to the Duke of Rothsay, and was called Albion," which looks suspiciously akin to a *château en Espagne.* Blythe told how he himself and a priest, John King, both being in the service of Henry Percy, had got Richard out of Pomfret Castle, as related in a previous chapter. No corroboration of the story could be looked for, as King had been killed in the battle at Shrewsbury. Blythe swore that since then he had received three separate letters from Richard, each containing a letter to be forwarded to his Queen Isabella, vouched by a special private mark. These letters he had faithfully delivered either in France or on the sea, for Isabella (he said) had actually started on her proposed journey to England some time before, but had been driven back by stormy weather, and, as lately as six days ago, she had had to land with all her horses at Sluys, and wait for a favourable wind. The Duke of Orleans was with her and might be expected at any moment in the Orwell, while Owen with a strong force from Wales and "all his people" would gather in the neighbourhood of Northampton. Richard would come out of Scotland, and put himself once more at their head. Blythe was to join them with what friends he could collect, and he had with him a sealed proclamation, to be published when the time should come, to show who had, and who had not, been faithful to the summons of their sovereign. He was ready to bring

[1] "In castro ducis Roseye quod Albion dicitur."—EULOG., iii, 401.

Prittlewell to an interview either with Richard or Isabella, within fifteen days, and he offered him a horse and harness, if he would pledge himself at once.

How shamelessly and utterly he lied in all this circumstantial detail, is proved by the fact that, at the very time when he said that he was conveying letters from Richard to Isabella, she was being formally contracted in marriage to Charles, Count of Angoulême, the son and heir of the Duke of Orleans. The Pope's dispensation is dated at Tarascon, [1]January 5th, 1404; preparations were being rapidly advanced for the actual marriage, and in the letters in which the French King gave his consent to the match, dated Paris, June 5th, 1404, Isabella is expressly called the "widow" *(veuve)* of Richard II.

But Prittlewell was wary, and pleaded that he was too infirm and too poor to be of any service, and here (if we may believe his own statement) his connection with the matter ended. And it was well for him that he did not trust the ready promises of the adventurer, for, so far from having a horse and saddle to give, Blythe had that very morning to ask his host and entertainer, Abbot Cook, to lend him a horse, a spear, and "other arneys," a request with which the Abbot did not find it convenient to comply.

After supper Blythe left, but he afterwards sent again to Byleigh, asking the Abbot to lend him four marks. The Abbot, thinking the man would become desperate ("a perilouse man") and do him some mischief, lent him two marks, but two or three days afterwards he sent again, asking urgently for two marks more and "a paire of trussing coferis" (*i.e.*, packing cases), promising to return the money, or ten times as much if needed, in three or four days. Upon this representation, the Abbot lent him 20s. more.

All through the spring the plotters lived in hope. So late as

[1] REPT. ON FŒD., Archives de France, p. 145.

[1]April 8th, rumours were being industriously circulated in Yorkshire that Richard was alive in Scotland. Badges continued to be distributed in expectation of his immediate appearance. At [2]Easter, the leading conspirators at Colchester and Bentley asserted that he would certainly come, supported by the French, Scotch, and Welsh, sometime between that date and June 24th. At Halstead and Colne, those who were in the secret held themselves in readiness to rise any day after February 6th. On the 4th of April and the 26th of April, Simon Warde, a servant of the Countess of Oxford, and one of the ringleaders, was at Halstead, assuring sympathisers that they need not till the lands, for, by Midsummer Day, Richard would have landed with the French.

Such were the rumours that circulated darkly among the "bejaped and begiled" Essex folk. But the French did not come; and, about two months after the visit of Blythe, the Abbot of Byleigh was roused from his bed at midnight by a friend, who warned him that eighty armed men were come to the neighbourhood; that many "fals [3]harlotts" were already taken, and that more would be seized ere daybreak.

One John Staunton, a servant of the Countess of Oxford, and some of the monks at Colchester, had lodged information with the authorities. Prompt means were taken to capture the ringleaders without delay. On the [4]21st of April, a warrant was signed for the apprehension of Boleyn, Allewy (or Ayleby), Warde, Beche, Ralph Hegue (parson of Tendring), Wrythook, Eccleshall, and Hundleby. On the [5]8th of May, a Supervisor was appointed to take over the property of the Countess of Oxford, and, on [6]Monday after Ascension Day, her goods were

[1] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 13. [2] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{21}{8}$ a (3). [3] *i.e.*, "fellows" or "knaves." Cf. the Sompnour, in CHAUCER, Prol. 647.

"He was a gentil harlot and a kynde,
A bettre felawe schulde men noght fynde."

For "false harlot," see Reve's Tale, 4266. [4] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 25. [5] *Ibid*, 2, 19. [6] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{21}{8}$ a (10); WALS., ii, 263.

seized by the Bailiff of Colchester, in the name of the King. The Abbot of Byleigh took the hint and disappeared; or, as he himself laconically says:—"*Y woidede.*" Philip Fitz Eustace, Richard Beche, of Colchester, and others of the lesser lights also made good their escape, together with the Abbots of Colchester and St. Osythe. An order was issued on the [1]5th of June, for the arrest of Fitz Eustace and Abbot Cook. The [2]Countess of Oxford was seized and thrown into the Tower; while it soon became known that Simon Warde was captured, and that William Blythe was ready to give evidence against his dupes.

To guard against surprise, [3]a powerful fleet was stationed in the Downs. It had been ordered to assemble at Sandwich by April 19th, and a strict watch was kept, to prevent both the escape of accused persons, and the approach of any hostile vessels. So strict were the precautions that, on the [4]12th of July, the captain of some Venetian galleys, at Sluys, wrote to the Senate at Venice that he found it dangerous to attempt to enter the port of Sandwich.

On the 11th of June, 1401, an enquiry was opened at Colchester before Sir William Coggeshall and other Justices of the Peace, assisted by a jury of twelve persons, and it soon appeared that most of the more formidable leaders had either given themselves up or were ready to throw themselves on the King's mercy. The Abbot of St. Osythe, bribed apparently with a present of £100, had surrendered, but the Abbots of Colchester and Byleigh were still at large.

About the same date, a secret interview was held between Richard Glover, of St. Osythe, a relative of the Abbot of Colchester, and William Denton, one of the monks of Colchester, who had undertaken to arm 100 "basynettes", or men-

[1] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 15. [2] EULOG., iii, 401; USK, 82. [3] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 1, dated March 25th. [4] VENICE STATE PAPERS, 42.

at-arms, when the Frenchmen should arrive. Glover asked Denton why the Abbot of Colchester did not come back, as the Abbot of St. Osythe had done. Denton replied that, if he had £100, perhaps he might; but he appointed to meet Glover again on the following Monday when he would tell him a secret *(conseyl)*. The two met, accordingly, and Denton asked his friend to help him to get a passage (*shepyng*) out of the country, "for zyf I be takyn," he said, "a C. libr. schal nawt savyn myn lyf." Glover advised him to put himself in the King's hands, but Denton replied that he dared not, he was too much compromised; but he asked him to go and fetch for him "a lytyl forsshyr," or forcer (*i.e.*, some sort of a knife), and four yards of cloth for a gown. Glover did as he was desired. Denton then drew out the "forcer," held it in his hand, and said: "This shall be at King Henry's heart, our unrightful King, ere St. Lawrence Day (August 10th), if I live; and I have a two-handed sword to take the life of Coggeshall, Legat, Doreward and others." We are not surprised to hear that, within the month, Glover had reported the whole of this confidential conversation to the Coroner. The Abbot of Byleigh also surrendered before St. Alban's Day (June 22nd), and made a full confession of all he knew.

On the [1]5th of August, 1404, eight Commissioners were appointed to investigate the matter, in so far as it referred to treasons and felonies committed in the counties of [2]Essex and Hertford since the preceding January 14th. In the interval, John Prittlewell had been arrested and had made his statement; Simon Warde had been caught; the Abbot of Colchester had submitted, and William Blythe had tried to save his neck by giving information against his late dupes and accomplices. The enquiry was opened at Colchester on the [3]25th of August, before Sir Bartholomew Bourchier, Sir William Coggeshale, and

[1] See their names, in TRAIS., 276. [2] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 9. [3] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{21^a}{8}$ (2).

[1]Elming Leget, three of the Commissioners, and a jury of thirteen. The Countess of Oxford, with her two servants, John Staunton and Simon Warde, the Abbot of Colchester, together with William Blythe, Richard Mystleyghe, and John Wrythook, were charged with conspiring at Colchester, and other places, with the Scots and French, and arranging for a landing at Ipswich. [2]John Staunton had already turned "approver," accusing Simon Warde. William [3]Blythe had accused the Abbot of Byleigh, Philip Fitz Eustace, and Richard Beche. The Abbot of Byleigh, as we have seen, had himself offered information, so that there was no lack of evidence. The enquiry was continued for a few days at Colchester, and on Wednesday, August 27th, the Commissioners sat at [4]Braintree, where evidence was tendered by several of the monks of St. John of Colchester. Richard Glover had already given his testimony, before the Coroner, on "the Monday after the Translation of St. Thomas (*i.e.*, July 7th)." In addition to the first list of names, the following were also put on their trial as traitors: the Abbots of St. Osythe and Byleigh, Thomas Somerton, Robert Boleyn, William Ayleby, John Hert and William Denton (monks), John Russell, and John Elkessale (or Eccleshall).

There cannot be much doubt of the decision of the Commissioners, though the record cannot now be found. We only know that the conspiracy was broken as soon as it was exposed. It is probable that [5]Blythe was subsequently drawn and hanged. Of the fate of the other accused we know nothing, except that the Countess of Oxford sued for pardon, and was liberated. At the instance of the Queen, and of the Parliament which subsequently met at Coventry, her property was restored to her [6](November 16th), together with all revenues due to her since November 11th. A full pardon was accorded to her on December [7]5th, 1404.

[1] PAT., 1 H. IV., 2, 19 (November 5th, 1399), records grant of £20 per annum to "Elming Leget, Esq." [2] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{21^{a}}{8}$ (13). [3] *Ibid* (9). [4] "Branketre."—*Ibid* (5). [5] Cf. CAPGR., 286, and WALS., ii, 263. "The clerk that wrot these billis was hanged and drawen," though this may refer to Serle. [6] Dated from "Our Castle of Killingworth," in EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{21^{a}}{8}$ (14). [7] RYM., viii, 379.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CAERNARVON, HARLECH, AND DARTMOUTH.

ALL this time where were the French? Had they ever really intended a landing in Essex? or had William Blythe and others like him been trading altogether upon their own [1]"false lesynges?" The few known facts that happened during the winter of 1403-4 will tend to show that the leaders of French policy were really trying to work in secret upon the credulity of the disaffected English, though far from pledging themselves to carry out a serious invasion, for a purpose which they must have known to be visionary and absurd; their aim being to damage Henry and his government by every possible indirect means, while still keeping up the outward semblance of maintaining negociations for a peace. They thus for a time preserved a decent diplomatic pretence of friendship with the English King, while seizing every chance of wounding him through Scotland, Wales, Guienne, and Flanders, and finding for him full occupation at home by raising false expectations among his credulous and disaffected subjects.

Large sums of money [2](said to have amounted to 1,800,000 francs) were raised in taxation and stored in the Louvre with a view to the invasion of England; but the money was squandered in gaiety and display through the influence of the Duke of Orleans. It will be remembered that in October, 1403, a force of French and Bretons were reported in Caermarthen Bay. They had landed and done much damage to the crops and farm-buildings, but had not been able to make head against the

[1] TRAIS., 273. [2] JUV., 427.

strong castles of Kidwelly and Caermarthen. They did not, however, return home, but with the help of the rebels they were able to ride out the winter on and about the Welsh coasts, inflicting damage wherever they could. Late in the year they moved northwards, and attempted an assault on Caernarvon Castle. Their vessels were armed, and were under the command of [1]Jean D'Espaigne, a Frenchman, but they were insufficiently supplied with material, and were beaten off. Upon this, the Welsh in Anglesey, being cut off from help from the mainland, and overawed by the strong castle of Beaumaris, made their submission to the English in [2]December, and agreed to pay their dues. The [3]garrison at Caernarvon, which had consisted of 20 men-at-arms and 80 archers, under the constable John Bolde, became over-confident at their easy success. Like their fellows in Caermarthen, [4]many of the best of them bid good bye to the place. Eleven died of pestilence or of wounds received in the assault, and, by the end of the year, there were only 28 fighting men remaining for the defence of the town and castle.

When news of the weakened condition of the garrison reached Owen and the French, they determined on another sudden attempt. They made great preparations, knowing the importance of the place, and the difficulty that the English would find to relieve it in the depth of winter. Engines were brought up, and "sowes," and long scaling-ladders; while "all Caernarvonshire" made preparations to cross over to Anglesey and fetch away the inhabitants and the cattle, "leste the Englishemen shulde be refreshitte therwith." When all their apparatus was complete, the French appeared before Caernarvon Castle, and the siege commenced in mid-winter, Wednesday, January 16th,

[1] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC. $\frac{42}{12}$ [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 90. [3] *Ibid*, ii, 4. [4] "Many of the beste bene God betaghte sithen."—ORIG. LET., II., i, 34. These letters are wrongly assigned by TYLER (i, 198) to 1405.

1404. In the absence of the Constable, [1]John Bolde, the defence was undertaken by Robert Pary, his deputy. None of the slender garrison could be spared, but a woman of Caernarvon undertook the dangerous duty of carrying the news to Chester, urgently requesting assistance without delay.

Further round to the south, a desperate crisis had been reached in the castle of Harlech. In the previous October, the garrison had become disorderly and mutinous, and suspicion was awakened that William Hunt, the Constable, was preparing to surrender the castle to the Welsh, when a resolute band amongst the soldiers seized him, "for sum thinges that thae fonde with hym." They took the keys from him. His place was taken by two others, "Sir Lewis" and "Fevian Colier." Hunt was kept a close prisoner in the castle for three months, but pestilence and desertions greatly weakened the little garrison. Some died; others deserted to the enemy; others attempted to make their way to England, but were caught and killed on the way; and so it came about that, while the attack was preparing against Caernarvon, the garrison of Harlech Castle, whose normal strength amounted to ten men-at-arms and thirty archers, had almost dwindled away to nothing, while the Constable had been lying for three months under suspicion of treason, a helpless prisoner in the hands of his subordinates. On [2]Tuesday, January 8th, 1404, Hunt, with two yeoman, named "Jak Mercer" and "Harry Baker," managed to leave the castle, and entered into treaty with the rebels under Howel Vaghan. They took no precautions for their safety, and the three were at once seized and carried off by the Welsh.

The garrison was now reduced to five Englishmen and about

[1] In August, 1404, "John Bolt" was in the south of England, called upon to prepare to meet the expected invasion of the French.—ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 234. [2] ORIG. LET., II., i, 35.

sixteen Welsh. Colier was sick and nearly dead of fever, but "Sir Lewis" held out desperately, and sent word, by a man of Criccieth, to Conway, in the hope that some help might come. The keeper of Conway, in forwarding the news from Harlech and Caernarvon, asserted that he had been told by many gentlemen of the counties of Caernarvon and Merioneth, that they would gladly have peace if the English would remain in the country and protect them from outrages during the winter. "I durste lae my hede," he said, that 200 men in Conway and 200 in Caernarvon would be sufficient to protect the two counties with ease during the winter, and that the inhabitants, with the exception of four or five gentlemen and "a fewe vacaboundes," would gladly pay dues to the English for protection, rather than have black mail exacted by the Welsh. If the matter were delayed till the opening of spring, when the Welshmen could camp out ("for then the rebell mae lie withoute"), a far larger number would not suffice.

This sound advice the King could not adopt. His straitened means, and costly court, and hand-to-mouth policy, forbade it. Lord [1]Berkeley, the Admiral for the South and West, had orders so far back as November 5th, to proceed to the relief of the castles on the west coast, and he subsequently received [2]£2,344 to pay for ships and a year's wages for 300 men at arms. Yet, by the opening of 1404, he had accomplished nothing. Cardigan, Aberystwith, Lampeter, Harlech, Criccieth, and Caernarvon remained closely blocked. Through the enterprise of [3]John Stevens and Thomas Saunders, two captains from the port of Bristol, they were kept fairly [4]supplied with provisions, and were able yet to hold out. Foiled in his attempt to capture Harlech, Owen himself went to the spot and opened further

[1] TYLER, i, 181; PAT., 5 H. IV., quoted in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 220. [2] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC. $\frac{40}{20}$ [3] PELLS ISSUE ROLL, MICH., 5 H. IV., January 31st, 1404. [4] TYLER (i, 186) gives payments made January 31st, 1404, to Prince of Wales for provisioning the castles.

negociations with the little garrison. All but seven of them agreed to give up the castle and receive a certain sum of money, and [1]a day was fixed for the surrender to be carried out. Thus the thin English garrisons were hard driven to defend themselves from utter ruin, while the Welsh and the French had complete control of the country, north and south.

In April, they had entered Shropshire, knowing that there were no English troops in the county. They accordingly prepared to make a raid before the [2]arrival of the Prince of Wales. On [3]April 21st, the men of Shrewsbury wrote a pitiful appeal for help, urging that one-third of the county had already been destroyed by the French and the Welsh, and that tenants were driven out of their homes to find a living elsewhere as they might. The simple men in the Eastern counties might perhaps be excused if they believed that Owen [4]and "all yis pepil" were soon to "mete to gedir" at Northampton.

But by this time the Parliament had dissolved, and the King found himself again supplied with funds. [5]On the 21st of March, a proclamation to the sheriffs called upon all persons holding annuities, lands, tenements, or annual profits, to assemble with arms in London, by April 14th, though their destination was not stated. Those who were too infirm to come themselves, must send a deputy to take their place.

The first care of the [6]Council was to despatch five armed vessels from Bristol, under the command of John Stevens, with corn, wine, vinegar, and salt, for the besieged garrisons on the coast of Wales, and to disperse the French from the neigh-

[1] ORIG. LET., II., i, 38, dated Conway, February 26th, 1404. [2] He arrived in Shrewsbury in April, 1404, and attended mass in the Dominican Church.—EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., $\frac{50}{16}$ [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 77. I assign this letter to 1404 rather than 1403 (as Sir H. Nicolas), because of the mention of the French ore de novel a eux venuz. See also TYLER, i, 186. [4] TRAIS., 275. [5] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 13. [6] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 220, dated April 23rd, 1404; EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC. $\frac{40}{20}$

bourhood of Harlech and Caernarvon. The War Treasurers assigned £300 for this purpose, and the money was paid through the hands of Sir Thomas Carew, who himself also received £200 for the wages of his garrisons in Caermarthen and Newcastle Emlyn. The Earl of Arundel received £400 to help to pay those who were serving in North Wales beyond their stipulated term; while, in conjunction with the Duke of York, he received other £800 to pay the wages of 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers, for 40 days in Wales, and matters were already at their worst when they suddenly began to mend.

Early in the spring of 1404, a large number of Breton Knights, encouraged by their success against Plymouth in the previous year, prepared to make another descent upon the coasts of Devonshire. The head of the expedition was William de Chastel, Lord of Château Neuf, near St. Malo, a Breton gentleman, who had also commanded the force which had entered and plundered Plymouth. A number of Norman Knights joined him, and the whole force amounted to [1]1,200 picked fighting men. They collected at Vannes, with unusual pomp and display, [2]in pride of trappings and rich flashing armour. They crossed the country to St. Malo, where they took ship and steered for Dartmouth. Here the vessels lay at anchor for six days, the Admiral, [3]Jean de Penhors, being from some cause unwilling to land.

At first, the Dartmouth men were in wild alarm, expecting every night that their town would share the fate of Plymouth; but, as day after day went by, and the enemy did not land, they took heart and collected for resistance. The [4]Earl of Warwick, who the year before had done good service in similar emergencies, gathered a large force from the neighbourhood. His

[1] Toutes gens usitez de guerre.—WAUR., 88. [2] Gloriosus apparatus, pretiosissimus amictus et fulgens armatura.—ANN., 383. [3] NICOLAS, ROYAL NAVY, ii, 364, &c., quoting ST. DENYS, iii, 170-180. [4] ROY. LET., i, 169.

preparations were carried out in all speed and without display; so much so, that the French were under the belief that they would find the town abandoned, and be able to occupy it without opposition. At length, after waiting six days in their ships, they became impatient. The Admiral still refused to land, but the Breton Knights would wait no longer, and the Lord of Château Neuf, over-ruling all objections, stepped first into a boat to head the landing party ([1]April 15th, 1404.)

The spot chosen for the landing was a rocky inlet, called [2]Black Pool, where the deep water heads up to a steeply shelving strand, about two miles south of Dartmouth, on the left of the entrance to the haven, not far from the walls of the castle at Clifton. As the Breton leader touched the shore, three countrymen attempted to attack him, but they were killed one after another, and the landing was begun. But, as each party landed, they were set upon by large bands of men, armed with sticks and swords and hooks and bills. The Lord of Château Neuf, who had advanced before his followers, was struck down before many could land, and the rest, seeing their leader fallen, grew desperate to secure a footing and carry off his body. Cheered by their success and urged by the banner of the Earl of Warwick, the Devonshire men held their ground and showered a [3]hail of arrows on the broken Bretons, [4]even the women helping in the confusion with slings and stones. Then, when the Bretons wavered and no effective help came from their fleet, the English fell upon them hand to hand, and forced them to submit. Many were needlessly killed in the encounter, for, though they offered to surrender, the country people did not understand what they said. The leader, William de Chastel, was among the slain. One hundred prisoners were

[1] ANN., 384. [2] "Blakpolle."—ROY. LET., i, 272. See plan with proposed fortifications (temp. H. VIII.), in LYSONS, vi, 154. [3] "Des fleches sambloit a voir gresil."—WAUR., 89. [4] ANN., 384.

taken, including three barons and twenty knights, amongst them being Henry and Tanneguy de Chastel, brothers of the leader. The [1]latter had fought desperately to avenge his brother's death, and both were [2]believed by their compatriots to have been killed; but they were taken alive, and both appear among a list of the prisoners dated [3]May 25th, 1404. No English ships were at hand to complete the rout, and, after helplessly watching the disaster to the landing party, the Breton Admiral sailed ignominiously away.

Such an easy victory gave heart to the timid dwellers on the coast. It was represented that the flower of the knighthood of Brittany and France had not been able to stand before the sticks and bills of the Devonshire rustics. The little [4]starlings, it was said, had pecked off the big sea-ravens, and the finger of God was seen miraculously delivering his people.

When news of the victory was brought to Henry, he attended a solemn service at the shrine of the Confessor in Westminster, and addressed the assembled nobles and others in terms of devout gratitude.

Other attempts at landing had been made about the same time in different parts of the South coast, but all had been successfully repulsed. A party of Normans had landed on the [5]island of Portland, on the other horn of the Bay, and had plundered it unopposed; but, on repeating their attempt nearer the mainland, they had been foiled by the resistance of the men of [6]Weymouth, and many of them were killed or taken prisoners. Several similar affrays had taken place likewise on the [7]coasts

[1] JUV., 428. [2] MONSTR., c. 14. [3] RYM., viii, 358. Tanneguy is called Frére au Seigneur de Castelle, in letter of John Hauley (dated Dartmouth, July 14th, 1404), in ROY. LET., i, 270. Hauley was at that time suffering from gout (jeo ay este si grantement malade en l'un de mes jambez). He died in 1408. His tomb and effigy are in St. Saviour's, Dartmouth. He had previously lent large sums of money to Richard II., and had been rewarded with handsome privileges.—PAT., 1 H. IV., 4, 28; *Ibid*, 75. [4] EULOG., iii, 403. [5] "Pres d' une isle laquelle ils avoient toute pillée et dérobée."—JUV., 427. [6] RYM., viii, 356. [7] *Ibid*, viii, 357.

of Devonshire and Cornwall; prisoners were abundant, and quarrels were already rising among the captors as to their respective [1]claims to share the ransom money when it should be paid. Those who had been present in the affray at Portland Island, but had not had the good fortune to capture any prisoners, complained that none of the prize money would fall to them. Disputes ran high, until the Sheriff was called in to arbitrate between the rival claimants at Weymouth. By his intervention, it was agreed that those who had captured prisoners should give up one tenth of their prize money to be divided among their comrades, who were present in the action but had made no captures, and this arrangement was subsequently ratified by the King [2](May 12th, 1404).

On the [3]23rd of May, 1404, the King issued proclamations forbidding that any of the prisoners should be allowed to return to their own country without his sanction. The proclamation was repeated on the [4]22nd of June, the object no doubt being to secure a large share of the ransom for the royal purse. Attempts were made to arbitrate for the adjustment of opposing claims. [5]On the 25th of May, Henry was at Nottingham, whence he sent a letter to the Mayor of Dartmouth requiring him to bring before him five of the prisoners, that he might have some talk with them and know from them the "secrets and intentions" *(secreta et ordinationes)* of the enemy. One of the number was a Welsh Esquire, the others were the two brothers of De Chastel, [6]Jean Gaudyn and [7]Oliver Arelle, a Breton, then a prisoner in Saltash Castle. Whether the King had merely a curiosity to see the prisoners and exercise his talent as a cross-examiner, as he had before done with the

[1] Roy. Let., i, 270. [2] Pat., 5 H. IV., 2, 11. [3] Rym., viii, 357; Claus. 5 H. IV., 2, 9, dated May 24th, 1404. [4] Rym., viii, 362; Claus. 5 H. IV., 2, 3. dated June 26th. [5] Rym., viii, 358; Pat., 5 H. IV., 1, 30. [6] Called Paganus de Gawdene.—Ann., 384. [7] Roy. Let., i, 271.

rebellious friars, or whether he had sound grounds for supposing that they would really reveal the "secrets and intentions," we do not know. But we know that [1]in this year there was a panic in the French Council, owing to a boast reported to have been uttered by the English King, that there was nothing happening in the French Court, that did not soon get known in England.

[1] Juv., 429.

CHAPTER XXXII.

The Franco-Welsh Alliance.

To all appearance, Henry went on negociating with the French, as if they really wanted peace. But we know that they were already entering into "secrets and intentions," which ought to have broken off the negociations forthwith. The proposals, which had been postponed until the 1st of March, had not been allowed to drop. As the time approached, [1]Sir John Cheyne had been specially appointed to proceed to Paris to confer with the French King and the Duke of Burgundy, though, as late as [2]March 18th, difficulties were still thrown in the way, and he had not been able to cross the frontier at Boulogne. He was commissioned to [3]remonstrate in the name of the King and the Parliament of England, against the attitude taken up by the Duke of Orleans and the Count of St. Pol, and against the blockade of Bordeaux, which was then practically surrounded by land and sea. On the [4]25th of April, 1404, Cheyne was supplied with instructions; but he had made no progress up to the [5]6th of June, on which day he was waiting with three colleagues in Calais, in a hospice "commonly called the Falcon."

Between that date and the [6]20th of July, some conversation took place between him and the Lord of Hugueville, as the representative of France. The English demands were formulated under four heads, and arrangements were made for a more formal meeting. But by the [7]1st of September, the English

[1] Roy. Let., i, 224. [2] *Ibid*, i, 226. [3] See the remonstrance (dated February 25th, 1404), in Rym., viii, 348. [4] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 222. [5] Rym., viii, 350. [6] Roy. Let., i, 279. [7] *Ibid*, i, 307. In Latinis et non in Gallico. Cf. *Ibid*, i, 358, for a similar complaint.

representatives were still waiting at Calais and pressing for an answer from the King of France, which, they urged, should not be given in French, but in Latin, as a language which all diplomatists could understand. The personal expenses in connection with the negociations were, of course, not lightened by the delay. The "Receivers," or Treasurers for War, [1]paid £100 to Cheyne for his "expenses in France," [2]even before the dissolution of the Parliament in April; a large sum, when we remember that £20 a day was sufficient to pay the wages of 100 men-at-arms and 200 archers.

But some time before the negociations had proceeded even so far, the chief statesman and negociator of France had passed away, and further complications had been imported into the story. On the [3]27th of April, 1404, died Philip, Duke of Burgundy, in the sixty-third year of his age, when his influence was at its height. Early in the year, he had gone from Paris to [4]Bar-le-Duc, to attend the funeral of his sister Mary. Thence he passed to Arras, where he spent Easter with the Duchess, his wife. From Arras he went to Brussels, at the summons of his wife's aunt, Joan, Duchess of Brabant, who, at a very advanced age, desired to hand over to him the administration of her Duchy. The spring had been unusually wet, and fever was all about the marshy districts on the borders of Flanders. The Duke was struck down with fever in Brussels on the [5]16th of April, and was at once removed in a litter away from the plague-stricken place. Every care was taken of him. Gangs of men were despatched along the road, with spades and picks, to smooth and level the way for his litter to pass. But at Hal, a few miles out of Brussels, it was found that he could be carried no further, and he died there at the Hostel of the Stag, on the 27th of April, in presence of his three sons, John,

[1] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC. $\frac{40}{20}$ (7). [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 267. [3] CHRISTINE, II., i. [4] MONSTR., 17. [5] L'ART DE VERIF., ii, 515.

Anthony, and Philip. His bowels were burned at Hal. His heart was sent to St. Denys, and his body, after being embalmed and laid out for a while in his castle at Arras, was taken to Dijon, where it was buried (June 16th, 1404) in the Carthusian church which he had built. Though his remains were interred with great display, yet he died poor, and his wife, Margaret, repudiated his debts by placing her girdle and keys upon his coffin. But his country wept for him, [1]as "robbed and spoiled of one of its sovereign pillars."

Albert, Count of Holland, died in the same year ([2]December 15th, 1404), and his widow, being unable to pay his debts, was constrained to go through a similar ceremony. In this case she placed a straw on the dead man's bier.

The death of the Duke of Burgundy, happening thus suddenly, was a fatal blow to France, and loosed the fierce passions of family feuds, which plunged the country into anarchy and civil war. But to England it was unmixed gain, and its effects were not slow in disclosing themselves.

Three days after the death of the Duke (viz., [3]April 30th, 1404), the authorities of the city of Bruges wrote to the English representatives in Calais, informing them that the Duke was dead, that the Duchess, his widow, was now governor of Flanders, and wished to come to terms with the English, in order to remove all impediment to trade. The English Council signified at once their willingness to treat. On the 14th of May, the Duchess published an order from Arras, that no armed vessels were to issue from the ports of Flanders to pillage or attack English or any other trading ships, but that trade should be encouraged, "on which our said country is principally based and supported;" and on the 16th, she gave a written assurance to the Lieutenant Governor of Calais, that

[1] See his eulogy, in CHRISTINE DE PISAN (II., i), who was much indebted to him. [2] DAVIES, i, 185. [3] ROY. LET., i, 230.

English goods, captured and carried to Niewport, should certainly be restored. By the [1]7th of June, the Duchess was able to write that the French King would give his consent, and that, if the English were willing, an arrangement of the differences between England and Flanders might be brought about immediately. The French King gave his written consent, in a [2]document formally drawn up in Paris, and dated June 24th, 1404; while, on the part of the English, assurances were willingly given of their desire for a restoration of friendly relations, though it is significant of the systematic double-dealing of the diplomacy of that age, that at the very same date (circ. [3]June 13th), it was believed in Bruges that preparations were making under the Bishop of Norwich (whose name the Flemings had every reason to remember since the events of 1383), or some other noted leader, for an attack on Flanders by sea. They had probably misinterpreted the meaning of the preparations, which we know were being then made to break up the conspiracy in Essex, and to guard against a possible landing by the French.

Thus one of the thorns which pressed most heavily in the side of England was in process of removal. Moreover, a truce had been agreed upon ([4]January 28th), with the King of Castile and Léon, to continue until June 24th, in order to devise means, if possible, for re-establishing security for the Spanish shipping. But with France there was no such immediate change. All through the summer, Norman, Breton, and English vessels were in constant conflict. Descents were made upon the coasts for plunder. Rovers were at large, uncommissioned, but unchecked, and many were the boastful stories current of their lives of robbery and adventure. From Newcastle, Boston, Lynn, Blakenham (in the Orwell), and Hythe, rovers put out to

[1] ROY. LET., i, 247. [2] *Ibid*, i, 324. [3] *Ibid*, i, 253, 257. [4] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 11.

prey upon the trading vessels in the North Sea, seizing cargoes of wine, timber, and herrings, and capturing or drowning the crews. Trading vessels from the Hanse towns were plundered in the very ports of lading, and cargoes of copper, cloth, Hamburg beer, and other wares, were carried off into English ports. [1]Stralsund alone sent in a claim for 3,084 nobles. In retaliation, the [2]Baltic was closed to English ships, and the annual catch of pilchards and herrings was all lost to the country. Early in [3]May, an English vessel entered the port of Zwen, or Zwin (the old entrance to the harbour of Sluys), in Flanders, and carried off a ship and cargo belonging to Lubeck. The crew were landed as prisoners at Newcastle.

Two of the rovers, John Brandon, of Lynn, and William Bigh, or Bligh, of Newcastle, made their names dreaded by the Baltic traders. Henry Pay, [4]the rover of Poole, [5]who had previously made himself notorious for capturing ships belonging to the subjects of the King of Spain, suddenly found his vessel [6]boarded by a Norman ship of war. A sharp fight ensued; but the Frenchmen, being better armed, overpowered the English crew, after a desperate hand-to-hand resistance. Some of the boarding-party then took off their helmets and [7]gloves (*"chirothecas"*), being overcome by the heat. Others took off all their armour, and laid it on the deck. Having bound their English prisoners, they told them to prepare for death, and most of them went below to search the vessel. The English crew, under semblance of confession to each other in the prospect of immediate death, arranged a hasty escape. Encouraged by Pay, they suddenly overpowered the few who were left to guard them on their own deck. Seizing their arms,

[1]Roy. Let., i, 264. [2]*Ibid*, i, 240, 242. [3]*Ibid*, i, 251. [4]Ord. Priv. Co., i, 234. [5]He was summoned before the Council for this, December 19th, 1402.—Rot. Claus. 4 H. IV., m. 31, in Nicolas, Royal Navy, ii, 351. [6]Ann., 386. [7]In Chaucer (Knight's Tale, 2016), when the dead warrior is laid out for burial, "upon his hondes hadde he gloves white."

they trapped and killed the remainder in the hold. Then they, in their turn, boarded the French vessel that lay by them, killed the crew, and manned the ship with their own men. They flew the French flag, and sailed on with their own English vessel as a prize in tow. Meeting with another English ship, they bore down on her, and told their tale. The two crews united, and, thus disguised, Pay sailed in perfect security far up into the Seine. Everywhere he was unopposed, the French people being now familiar with the sight of English prizes being towed into their ports. Pay watched his opportunity, pounced upon and burnt many small French craft in the river, and returned quite unharmed to the open sea. His dare-devil exploit, duly seasoned and embellished, was long remembered by his countrymen. [1]On the 27th of May, 1404, he was specially warned not to attack Spanish or Portuguese vessels, but we may be sure he would incur no reprimand for plundering in the Seine.

On the other hand, a small party of Englishmen made a desperate attempt to surprise [2]La Rochelle, having correspondence with an accomplice in the town. But the attempt failed, and the party [3]afterwards plundered on the coasts of Brittany.

About the same time, a second French expedition approached the shores of the Isle of Wight. The Count of St. Pol had assembled 1,600 fighting men at [4]Abbeville, with abundant supplies of corn, wine, salted meat, biscuits, and butter. This may have been part of the plan for which preparations had been made on the coasts of Essex, but which had been foiled by the delays on the French side, and afterwards by the closing of the ports of Flanders to the filibusterers on the death of the Duke of Burgundy. At any rate, when the expedition started from Harfleur and approached the Isle of Wight, the islanders were

[1] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 8. [2] JUV., 428. [3] *Ibid*, 430. [4] MONSTR., xix.

this time not at all dismayed. A small party of French went ashore, in the hope, perhaps, of finding a welcome prepared for them. But they were deceived. The islanders captured them, and refused to allow them to return. Instead of this, they sent to enquire from the strangers in their ships what they came for. The Frenchmen answered that they came in the name of Richard, the rightful King of England, and of Isabella, his wife, to whom their tribute ought to be paid. But the islanders had no such friendly recollection of their late experience of the French. They therefore answered that they knew that Richard was dead, and that Isabella had been returned to her father, and they would hear nothing of tribute. The French, enraged at their temerity, broke out upon them with threats that they would soon rue their insolent defiance. "Come on, then!" said the islanders, and they offered to let them land, and to give them six hours subsequently to refresh themselves, before beginning their attack. But the French, knowing that some of their party were already captured, and suspecting that they were being lured into an ambush, declined the invitation, and prudently sailed away.

We are now in a position to estimate the position of affairs in Wales. The siege of Caernarvon does not appear to have prospered. But in Harlech, treachery and fever combined against the garrison, and during the spring the [1]castle fell into the hands of the Welsh. In the south, the castle and town of Cardiff had been long threatened. On the [2]26th of October, 1403, the Earl of Devon had been commissioned to impress men and proceed to the rescue of the place. But his efforts failed. [3]The town was taken, plundered, and burnt, and the garrison of the castle capitulated. The castles of [4]Caerphilly, [5]Usk, Caerleon, and Newport, followed the fate of Cardiff,

[1] RICHARDS, in BYEGONES, 256, quoting NICHOLAS, ANTIQUITIES OF WALES. [2] TYLER, i, 185, [3] EULOG., iii, 401. [4] BLACK, 75. [5] USK, 90.

while, in the open country, the Welsh were everywhere in possession, and no Englishman's life was safe.

Jevan ap Meredith, one of the Welsh members of the garrison of Caernarvon Castle, died about this time. His body was buried in the church of [1]Penmorfa, near Tremadoc, but it was not deemed safe to take it across the county of Caernarvon by land. It had to be sent round by sea. It was estimated that 30,000 men were at Owen's call. He was regarded by the churchmen [2]as "the rod of God's anger." None dared withstand him, away from the shelter of the English castles. Houses and farms were sacked, and damage done beyond the possibility of repair, wherever his demands were refused. Vengeance was wreaked on kinsmen or strangers who dared to uphold the English, and the legend of the fate of Howel Sele, in the [3]great oak at Nannau, is but the vague voice of tradition recording the tragic end of many a peaceful Welshman, who trusted to the power and protection of England, but found himself abandoned in his need to a merciless and mysterious death.

With all the country in his hands, and the Frenchmen on his coasts, a wider field began to open up to Owen's ambition. Acting, no doubt, under the prompting of the French, he resolved to call himself "Prince of Wales," and in this name he addressed a communication to the King of France, which we are fortunate in having still preserved. It is written from Dolgelly, and is dated [4]May 10th, 1404, "the fourth year of our Principate," that is to say, he reckons back to the time when he first stood up in rebellion against the English, and bases his claim to the title, four years back, to that date. But we have no evidence that he had ever before claimed the title "Prince

[1] PENNANT, i, 348, quoting HIST. GWEDIR, 53. [2] USK, 75, quoting Isaiah x, 5. [3] To Cambria look—the peasant see
Bethink him of Glendowerdy,
And shun "the Spirit's Blasted Tree."
MARMION, Canto vi, Introduction, with Note 4 G.

[4] RYM., viii, 356.

of Wales." On the contrary, in his letters to the King of Scotland, and to the Lords of Ireland, in 1401, he writes to them in terms of submissive entreaty. Now, however, he had assumed a title of sovereignty, had appointed one of his relations his "Chancellor," and he signed a document in royal style, to the King of France, as an equal. To this date, probably, may be assigned an undated [1]letter, which is still preserved, and claims to be original. It is from "Yweyn ap Gruffuth Dominum de Glyn Dwfrdwy," to "our very dear and very entirely well beloved Henry Don." It is written in Latin, and contains little of special interest, except that it urges Don, who was probably an Englishman, to join him in insurrection against the English, "and you may know," it continues, "that their time is ending, and victory is turning to us, according to God's ordaining from the first, which none can doubt."

In his letter to the King of France, Owen refers to the affection and sincere regard which Charles has borne, and continues to bear, towards himself and his "subjects," and despatches two of his relatives to negociate for a league, either permanent or temporary, with the French King. His messengers were his two relatives, Griffin Yonge, his "Chancellor," and John (or Jenkyn) Hanmer. The latter was supposed by the French to be Owen's [2]"own brother." He was really his [3]brother-in-law, being the [4]second son of Sir David Hanmer, the judge, whose daughter, Margaret, was Owen's wife. The messengers were commissioned to ask for [5]men, money, and arms.

In the meantime, Owen arranged that four "of the most sufficient persons," out of each county in Wales, should meet to

[1] OWEN AND BLAKEWAY, i, 181, from MS. of E. Lhuyd (inter Coll. W. Mitton), e cod. MS. exod in chart. penes Dn. Robert Pugh de Keon y Gartleg, in paroch Ll. St. ffraid apd. Denbigh. [2] "Fratrem proprium." —ST. DENYS, xxv, 9. [3] He is called "gener ejus." in ANN., 400. [4] Foss, iv, 57. [5] JUV., 429.

form a Parliament in [1]Harlech or [2]Machynlleth, on the Western coasts.

This is really all we know of this pretentious effort. It marks, if nothing else, the feebleness and inactivity of the English government, who kept themselves informed of all that was going on, but relaxed for the first time their annual preparations for a summer inroad into Wales, and so left Owen, with his lawyers and his Frenchmen, to play at governing an abandoned and terror-stricken dependency.

From the border counties there came the old familiar appeals. From [3]Hereford, the Sheriff wrote to the King and the Council that the Welsh had entered the county in great numbers in the district of Irchenfield, or Archenfield, near Whitchurch, and that they were burning houses, wasting the crops, and capturing and killing the peasants, on the Southern border near Monmouthshire. Lord Abergavenny, it was said, was likely to be destroyed, if aid were not sent, and pitiful appeals were made for an adequate force, under the King, or some one high in power, to roll back the invasion which it was expected would take place about the middle of June. The letter was dated from Hereford, on the 10th of June, and spies had then brought in word that the rebels would raid into the county in eight days. Dean Kingston was empowered to proceed to London and lay the case before the Council.

The King was at the time in Nottingham, on his way to Pontefract. On the [4]9th of June, he was at Doncaster, whence he issued a commission to the Sheriffs of Hereford, Worcester, Gloucester, and Warwick, to raise the forces of their counties and proceed to the relief of Abergavenny. Ignoring the existence of War Treasurers, he authorized [5]Kingston, at Here-

[1] ORIG. LET., II., i, 43 (unless this should be 1405). [2] USK, 83. [3] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 224; TYLER, i, 188; LEWIS, ii, 371. [4] TYLER, i, 190. [5] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 15, dated June 16th, 1404.

ford, to collect the subsidy from these counties and employ it directly for purposes of defence.

At [1]Nottingham, he was visited by representatives from the Count of Cleves, who renewed his proposals of friendship made two years before, when the Princess Blanche had passed through his capital, and suggested for himself a marriage with Henry's other daughter, Philippa. This proposal was out of the question, but Henry offered to subsidize him with an annual grant of money if he would do homage to him, as the Duke of Geldres had previously done to King Richard, and undertake to put a force of armed men at his disposal, for employment in the English service whenever required. The offer does not appear to have been accepted, and the Count afterwards married Marie, the second daughter of the new Duke of Burgundy.

King Henry then went forward to Pontefract, where he spent four weeks in rest and negociation. It is clear that he had no present intention to advance into Wales for this year. Funds were, as usual, lamentably short; the more so, perhaps, on account of the control exercised by the War Treasurers. Nicholas de Ryssheton, the representative appointed to negociate with the Duchess of Burgundy, was in London, [2]clamouring for his arrears of pay. He had contracted large debts in Calais. One hundred pounds was due to him, but he had not received one penny of payment since [3]November 14th. He appealed to the Chancellor, on the strength of whose promise he had contracted the debts. But the Chancellor could only refer him to the War Treasurers, who replied politely that they had nothing to give. In his distress, the envoy determined to appeal to the King in person, in Yorkshire, but had not the means to supply himself with horses or other necessaries for the journey.

[1]See letters (dated June 11th and 18th), in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 225. [2]ROY. LET., i, 266, dated London, June 25th. [3]*Ibid*, i, 279, dated London, July 24th.

At Pontefract, the King was visited by the [1]Earl of Northumberland and William Clifford, and it seemed as if the northern castles would at last be surrendered and the country pacified. The northern men were as yet far from tranquil. The memory of Henry Percy was still alive in their midst, and they vented their feeling on the Scotch traitor, the Earl of March, who was popularly credited with his death; so much so, that the Earl and his men often wished themselves dead or away out of the country [2]*(vueillient estre mortz s'ils ne se retrehent hors du paiis)*, while the north-countrymen only waited their opportunity to be revenged.

The Earl of Northumberland had been frequently summoned by letter to appear before the King, but he had long neglected the summons. An [3]accusation of high treason was threatened against him. But, seeing now that there was a prospect of securing his own terms, he presented himself at Pontefract, a little before [4]Midsummer Day. In tardy recognition of an [5]order, dated December 6th, 1403, he brought with him his three grandsons, two of them being sons of Henry Percy, and one of Thomas, who had lately died in Spain. With him came William Clifford, his faithful follower, who had held Berwick against all the demands of the royal troops. But the most welcome visitor in the company was William Serle, a devoted servant of Richard II., who had just been [6]entrapped on the Border. Serle had been specially troublesome to Henry, and when pardons were issued in the late Parliament, he and two others had been specially excluded by name. After Richard's fall he had escaped to France; but, hearing that his late master was alive, he had crossed to Scotland, to make enquiry for himself. In [7]December, 1401, his wife was seized in London, and

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 229. [2] ROY. LET., i, 301. [3] WALS., ii, 263. [4] ANN. (390) says June 24th, but from ORD. PRIV. CO. (i, 229) it is certain that the interview took place before June 21st, 1404. Cf. EULOG., iii, 402. [5] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 1, 27. [6] Ceperat cautelose.—WALS., ii, 263. [7] CLAUS. 3 H. IV., 1, 14.

lodged in Newgate. Though convinced that Richard was really dead, he nevertheless lent his help to the imposture, in the hope of damaging Henry in the eyes of his subjects. Finding himself baffled and reduced to destitution, he repaired to Berwick, offering his services to Clifford, in the hope of earning enough money to make his way back again to France. But Clifford secured him, and gave him up to Henry, in order to obtain better terms for himself. Being now in Henry's power, and having little hope of help from the Earl of Northumberland or the Scots, Serle confessed that he had carried off King Richard's signet, when he was made a prisoner at Flint, and had kept it ever since, using it to seal those many forged communications which had perplexed people in England for the last four years. He admitted that there was an impostor now personating King Richard in Scotland, but that he was not the real King. Serle was accused also of the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, for which Hall had already suffered so fearful a punishment. Henry's vengeance would allow of no light satisfaction. Serle was pronounced guilty at Pontefract, and his punishment was cruelly prolonged. [1] "Beginning his payne where he had his doome," he was drawn by horses through the streets of Pontefract, and afterwards through those of Lincoln and [2] Norwich, and the towns in Suffolk, Essex, and Hertford, through which he passed on his way to London. He was more than once hanged by the neck and cut down alive. At length he reached the capital, where "he [3] was drawen and hanged, boweld, and his bowels brent before hym, and than beheded and quartered at Tyburne." His punishment made a deep impression on the country, and is recorded in many chronicles. It was afterwards believed that it extended over

[1] SPEED, 631. [2] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 2 (dated Leicester, August 6th, 1404), contains the order for Helmyng Leget to make arrangements for drawing Serle through the streets of Norwich. [3] CHRON. LOND., 89.

four months, and that the pieces of his body were distributed throughout the country; but both these particulars are proved to be exaggerations by reference to the official order, dated from Lichfield on the [1]24th of August, requiring that his head shall be placed on London Bridge, and his quarters buried "within sanctuary." The same order sets forth, however, that William Serle had suffered "more and severer penalties than other our traitors have endured before these times."

The Earl of Northumberland now agreed to give up the castles of Berwick and Jedburgh (which with [2]Fastcastle, on the coast, near St. Abb's Head, seem to have been the last places where his officers held out), on condition that the Parliament should grant to him and his heirs for ever property of equal value. The matter was submitted to the Council, and on the 9th of July, a document was drawn up, sealed and signed, according to which the castles were to be given up between July 20th and August 1st, 1404, the King promising an equivalent in land, when the Parliament should meet in the winter. Two days afterwards, the King, having moved to Thorpe, near York, appointed [3]Sir Robert Umfraville to be Warden of Berwick Castle, with [4]orders to take over Jedworth (*i.e.*, Jedburgh) Castle from the officers of the Earl of Northumberland. Messengers came also to Pontefract from the King of Scotland, and negociations went forward for the ransom of the prisoners taken at Humbledon.

On the 6th of July, two representatives of Scotland and two of England signed an indenture at Pontefract Castle, fixing a truce between the two countries, to last from the 20th of July, 1404, till Easter of the following year. It was arranged that other representatives should meet at Haudenstank, on the 8th of October, to discuss disputed points, and it was left open for

[1] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 1. [2] RYM., viii, 370. [3] ROT. SCOT., ii, 168. [4] Dated from Wressel, July 19th, 1404, in CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 2.

the King of [1]France to be included in any succeeding treaty, if application were made on his behalf before Christmas Day. On the [2]24th of August, two representatives were named on behalf of the Scots. On the [3]26th of August, King Robert and his Council gave their consent. The Scotch representatives presented themselves before the King, at Tutbury, on the [4]16th of September, and matters seemed at last in a fair way of settlement in that direction. Later in the year, [5]December 27th, 1404, permission was given for David Lyndsay, Earl of Crawford, to come to England to negociate.

Furthermore, on the same 6th of July, while the documents were being signed by the Scotch and English representatives at Pontefract, the [6]Duchess of Burgundy was addressing a letter to the King's Lieutenant in Calais, announcing that the King of France had given his consent to a separate treaty being arranged between England and Flanders, and adding that her representatives would be at St. Omer by July 20th, prepared to meet the representatives of England at Reudelinghem, near Ardres. On the English side, four representatives were named, and it was hoped that negociations would be begun by [7]August 15th, at latest. On the 21st of August, two English representatives landed at Calais, and forwarded letters to Bruges, fixing the 6th of September, as the day of meeting. It was [8]proposed that the meeting should take place at "Santyngfeld," on the boundary between Calais and France; but apprehensions were still suggested as to the good faith of the Flemish, in view of the threatening news from France, and when the 31st of August arrived, only [9]one out of the seven English deputies was able to be at his post.

Thus the four weeks at Pontefract had been unusually well

[1] RYM., viii, 363. [2] *Ibid*, viii, 369; ROT. SCOT., ii, 169. [3] ROY. LET., i, 298. [4] RYM., viii, 372. [5] *Ibid*, viii. [6] ROY. LET., i, 266. [7] *Ibid*, i, 277. [8] *Ibid*, i, 294, 297. [9] *Ibid*, i, 304.

spent. The northern rebels, Scotland and Flanders, seemed all settling into quiescence, and, with the approach of July 20th, there seemed a prospect of much-needed rest for the King and the country. But the Welsh would not let him alone. A large force from South and West Wales entered Hereford, supplied with provisions for fifteen days. Richard, brother to the Duke of York, [1]who was entrusted with the defence of South Wales, was unable to withstand them, and the western part of the county of Hereford was given up to fire and plunder. In this emergency the Prince of Wales was ordered to Worcester, where he was joined by the Earl of Warwick with a considerable force of his own tenants. Yet no levy of the forces of the county was made. The Prince called a conference at Worcester, but being unable to raise money enough by the sale or pawn of his jewels and belongings, he was forced to remain idle, and write urgent despatches to London and Pontefract for money and men.

In the meantime, the wishes of Owen had been conveyed to the court of France. Before the close of the month of May, the two Welsh envoys arrived in Paris, and Hanmer was personally received by the King, who spoke of Owen as his "brother." The envoy received from the King's hands a gilded helmet, a cuirasse, and a sword, which were to be delivered to Owen as a token of coming help, together with [2]promises of more substantial assistance without delay. The envoy received the presents, bowing with as much reverence as if he were getting the King himself. He then wrote out and handed in a list of the harbours and roads, and of the best districts in Wales.

The few sketchy details of this interview are given by the French Royal Chronicler, who [3]heard them "from those who were present." He likewise saw and read through the list of harbours, &c., which had been supplied by Hanmer to the French leaders, though he does not give any of its contents.

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 266. [2] JUV., 429. [3] "Prout a Francis qui tunc interfuerunt didici." "Quæ perlegi."—ST. DENYS, 25, 9.

On the 14th of June, 1404, James de Bourbon, Count de la Marche, had been named to represent the King of France, and under his auspices a formal [1]treaty of alliance was drawn up, signed, and attested in Paris, within a month afterwards. By this, the King of France and Owen mutually bound themselves to assist each other in opposition to "Henry of Lancaster," to resist his attacks or those of his adherents, and they made provision for amicable agreement, in case any difference of opinion should in future arise.

[1] See it, in RYM., viii, 365, 382, dated July 14th, 1404; also REPT. ON FŒD., Archives de France, i, 146.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

INACTION.

WHILE the King was still at Nottingham, on his way to Pontefract, he had forwarded [1](May 31st) to the Council the usual urgent request for funds, to enable him to carry on the defence of the country, as sanctioned by the last Parliament. In reply, the Council drew up a respectful minute (dated [2]June 8th or 15th, 1404), in which they showed the absolute impossibility of doing more. Their whole efforts were taken up in trying to raise money to equip a fleet of 42 ships with 600 men-at-arms and 1,200 archers, and they drew up a list of the sums already borrowed and expended by the War Treasurers since the Parliament had been dismissed. They showed that some £20,000 was wanted at once, and that they did not know where to turn to procure the first necessary instalment of £2,347 16s. 6d., which must be provided for the naval expedition within 40 days. In many of the counties the advances received had already exceeded the total amount of the subsidy, and in others the collectors could not get in their portions.

The Duke of York, as [3]Lieutenant of South Wales, was quite unable to pay the wages of the [4]garrisons in Caermarthen, Cardigan, and Newcastle Emlyn, although he had [5]sold or pledged his silver and gold plate. He had claims also upon

[1] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 265. That this and the four following documents belong to 1404 is proved by internal evidence. Sir H. NICOLAS himself noted this and corrected the date in HIST. NAVY, ii, 367. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 266. [3] See Cott. Charters and Rolls (x, 10), in Sir F. MADEN'S MS. NOTES, in Chetham Library. [4] See his letter (dated Clarendon, June 20th), in ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 271. [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 553.

the Exchequer still unpaid since the time when he was serving in [1]Guienne, nearly three years before. Caermarthen was under the charge of [2]Rustyn Villenove, and John and Henry Neville. A sum in payment of wages for the garrison was guaranteed on the yield of "the subsidy" in Somerset, and special promises were added by the Duke of York. But the "knights, esquires, and others in their company," looked in vain for their expected wages, and received "not a penny." Villenove and the Nevills were still [3]petitioning humbly for their wages in 1405. On the [4]22nd of June, the Duke of York was at Glastonbury, begging a loan from the Abbot, if possible, and could only ask his dissatisfied troops to wait till Lammas (August 1st) at least, when he promised to pledge all his lands in Yorkshire, in order that the arrears might be paid off. The castle of Abergavenny was in danger. [5]On the 13th of June, the King ordered 100 marks to be sent for food and carriage for the garrison, and the Duke of York was to proceed to their relief.

All this time the King was loitering aimlessly about in the Northern and Midland counties, making a feint to negociate here and there, but really letting slip the precious summer months in helplessness and inactivity. And now, for the first time, we seem to see a distinct slackening in that devouring energy which had signalized his conduct from the day when he landed in Yorkshire, five years before. During all these five years he had been [6]"oppressively ubiquitous," himself the centre of every action. If plots were to be put down, invasions to be undertaken, or rebellions to be quelled, he trusted no man's eyes and no man's hand but his own, and each summer saw him in the forefront of every danger in England, Scotland, or Wales. But now an unwonted languor came upon him, or, it may be, a

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 547. [2] See his appointment (dated May 12th, 1404, to last till the end of June), in PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 19. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 565, dated 4 H. IV (*i.e.*, 1404.) [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 273. [5] ROT. VIAG., 20, dated Doncaster, June 13th, 14th. [6] STUBBS, iii, 507.

peevish resentment against the late attempt at parliamentary control. He was only 36 years old, but he seems to have suddenly [1]"loste al lustyhede." Perhaps the constant pressure of the anxiety of the last five years was already wearing down his strength, and bringing out the fatal disease which carried him prematurely to his grave. It is more than likely that he felt himself hampered and embarrassed with debt, and, being thwarted in his efforts by the Parliament and the War Treasurers, he sullenly retired from the capital to his northern castles, in the expectation that growing disasters would speedily convince his people that they could not do without him, and that he *must* have their money at his disposal whether the War Treasurers liked it or not.

He remained at Pontefract till [2]July 10th. On [3]July 11th, he was at Thorpe (now [4]Bishopthorpe), near York, and on the [5]19th at Wressel. By the [6]2nd of August, he was at Leicester Castle, where a [7]Council was held, and negociations were continued with France and Flanders. From Leicester the King made short excursions to [8]Rockingham Castle (August 7th), [9]Drayton (August 8th), and Pipewell Abbey (in Northamptonshire), August 11th. On the 14th and 15th of August, he was back in [10]Leicester, and from thence removed to his castle at Tutbury, where he remained till [11]August 21st, and then moved on to Lichfield, where he had ordered [12]a "Grand Council" to assemble. The King reached Lichfield on the [13]22nd of August, and the Council met in that city [14]on the same day.

[1] CHAUCER, Boke of the Duchesse, 27. [2] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 12. [3] ROT. SCOT., ii, 168. [4] Purchased by Walter de Grey, Archbishop of York, temp. H. III.—HOOK, iii, 194. [5] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 4, 2. [6] ROT. SCOT., ii, 168. PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 3, contains an order (dated August 4th, 1404) for horses and carts to be requisitioned for carrying the King's effects from London to Leicester. [7] ROY. LET., i, 333, 337. [8] PAT., 5 H. IV., 4, 2. [9] *Ibid*, m. 1. [10] *Ibid*, 4, 8. [11] RYM., viii, 368. [12] ROY. LET., i, 433. [13] RYM., viii, 369. [14] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 233; ROT. PARL., iii, 549. A l'Octave de l'Assumption de Nostre Dame.

As far back as the beginning of August, very threatening news had been received from France. Nevertheless, the formal negociations were not interrupted. On the [1]2nd of August, the Bishop of Bangor, being in London, wrote to the King that he had private information from Bruges, that Isabella, the Queen of Richard II., had been contracted in marriage to Charles, Count of Angoulême, the eldest son of the fiery Duke of Orleans. [2]Pope Benedict XIII. had granted the necessary dispensation, and the King of France (as the father of Isabella), had given his consent to the marriage. But the boy was only eleven years old, and must wait for a few years at least. Henry appears not to have known yet of the treaty between Owen and the King of France, but the same letter that told him of the betrothal of Isabella told him also that two expeditions were fitting out in France—one, under the Constable of France, against Bordeaux, and the other consisting of 500 bassinetts (or men-at-arms) and 200 balisters (or bowmen), assembling at [3]Harfleur, in 60 vessels under the command of James de Bourbon, Count de la Marche, to help the Welsh.

In view of this news the Council had to face the following facts. In Wales, as we have seen, the payments to the garrisons were altogether in arrears. On the Scottish Border, the troops were mutinous, and had risen against Prince John, who had been Warden of the East March since the fall of Hotspur. The Prince was placed in the midst of a disloyal population, and was altogether unprovided with the sinews of war. On the [4]19th of April, he had received £60 to pay his troops, after the rising of Parliament. But this meagre drop was utterly insufficient. By the beginning of [5]June, the pay was in arrears to the extent of £4,000, of which only a portion could be raised in the subsidies from Lancashire and Yorkshire, the Earl of

[1] Roy. Let., i, 281. [2] See p. 424. [3] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 234. [4] Exchequ. Treas. of Recpt., $\frac{40}{20}$ [5] Ord. Priv. Co., i, 269.

March providing a further £60. The [1]Prince was insulted by his troops, and his life would have been in danger, but for some timely advance made to meet the emergency by Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, brother of the Earl of Westmoreland.

On the [2]17th of August, the Lieutenant-Governor of Calais wrote to the King and the Council in utter desperation, hinting that so great was their "necessity, mischief and poverty," that they must not be accused of cowardice if, in the absence of proper relief, they were compelled to surrender the town, and the castles on the French Border. In order to raise money, a [3]tax of a penny had been put upon every cart, both on entering and on leaving the town for goods. Fourpence also was charged in the same way on the roads at the frontier, at Oye and at the Dunes. But this only had the effect of still further crippling trade and increasing the poverty of the people. On the rising of Parliament, the War Treasurers were required to assign [4]£1,000 for the defence of Calais, but by the middle of June more than half of this sum (*i.e.*, 800 marks = £533 6s. 8d.) was still remaining due. No pay had been received by the garrison since Michaelmas, 1402, and although advances had been made by the traders of the place on the strength of the promises made in the last Parliament; yet, being continually deluded of their hopes of payment, the traders had now absolutely declined to advance more, either in money or provisions, and without immediate help from England, Calais must be dishonourably abandoned.

Such was the situation and such the tenour of the despatches which came before the King and his advisers, at the Great Council which assembled at Lichfield in the end of August, 1404. From a [5]list which is still preserved, and which refers probably to this date, it would appear that the Council consisted

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 552. [2] ROY. LET., i, 284. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 555. [4] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 269. [5] *Ibid*, ii, 85.

of 8 Bishops, 18 Abbots and Priors, 19 great Lords and Barons, and 96 representatives of counties. No representatives of the cities and boroughs are included in the list.

As soon as the Council met, it was ordered [1](August 22nd) that a Parliament should meet at Coventry on the 6th of October following, and the writs were issued on [2]August 25th. The Council then proceeded to consider the reports from France and Wales. It was decided (for what reason we cannot now say) that the King could not proceed in person to Wales, suitably attended; but it was thought best that he should remain in the neighbourhood of Tutbury, ready for emergencies, until the next meeting of Parliament, and that he should issue his writs to such of the Sheriffs as he chose to select, calling upon them to summon the forces of their counties as required.

To meet the expected invasion of the French, messages were sent to several prominent men in the South of England, to have vessels in readiness. We may assume that the [3]old practice in such cases was followed now, viz.: that the wages of the crew would be paid by the Crown, and that a payment of 3s. 4d. per ton per quarter would be paid to the owners for lending and equipping the vessel. [4]One thousand marks, granted by the clergy, were allotted specially for the defence of Aquitaine.

By the aid of a loan of 100 marks from the Bishop of [5]Coventry and Lichfield, and an advance from the Customs of the port of Bristol, help was to be sent to Caermarthen. The [6]Castles of Hay and Brecon (the former under the command of Sir John Oldcastle) were to be guarded strongly until the end of September. The Prince of Wales, who had been in Hereford since June 29th, was to have 500 marks to keep his troops together on the Border till October 1st. His whole [7]force

[1]Claus. 5 H. IV., 2, 1. [2]Rept. on Dignity of a Peer, iv, 790; Claus. 5 H. IV., 2, 3, dated August 26th, 1404. [3]Rot. Parl., iii, 554. [4]Rym., viii, 371. [5]Pat., 5 H. IV., 2, 10, dated August 29th, 1404. [6]Ord. Priv. Co., ii, 237. [7]Rot. Parl., iii, 549.

amounted to 129 men-at-arms and 256 archers. By the close of September, this force was to be raised to 500 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers, and they were to have wages for three weeks to carry out a raid over the [1]hills and valleys of Monmouth and Glamorgan. The Castle of [2]Coity, or Coitiff, now called Oldcastle Bridgend, was besieged by the Welsh and in imminent danger of falling. It was defended stoutly by [3]Alexander Berkroller, the lord of the place, and the clergy made advances of money, to pay the wages of troops proceeding to rescue it. From October 28th to November 11th, the Prince of Wales with his troops was occupied in defending the English Borders from attack. On the 13th of November, he advanced, with his brother Thomas, to attempt the relief of Coitiff. Denbigh and the castles of North Wales were to be strengthened and defended, funds being found by applying a portion of a fine already levied on the county of Chester. In Shropshire, an opening for negociations had offered, and it was resolved to admit a truce with the rebels in that part of the country, to last until the end of November. By this means, the town and castle of Welshpool were secured from further molestation for the present. This strange transaction, while proving beyond doubt the weakness and humiliation of the English government is also one of the strongest possible proofs of the want of unity and common purpose among the rebels, and shows that the self-styled "Prince of Wales" had, as yet, no permanent control over his "subjects," when it suited them to act according to their own view of their own individual interest.

But the most startling proposal sanctioned in this Council came in at the end. By an order issued at Lichfield, on the [4]28th of August, all payments of pensions or annuities from the

[1] Overwent and Nethirwent, Glamorgan and Morgannok.—ORD. PRIV. Co., i, 235. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 547. [3] TYLER, i, 197, quoting MS. DONAT., 4597. [4] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 2.

Exchequer were to be suspended until the next meeting of Parliament, or until further orders. A proclamation to this effect, addressed to the Sheriff of Kent, stands enrolled under the date, [1]July 5th, but it is crossed through, and no action appears to have been taken until the Council met at Lichfield. Now, however, the order was actually issued, and all who depended upon the public faith for their incomes found their supplies suddenly stopped. It was explained that the measure was for the moment necessary, "in order to secure prompt payment," and, as usual, the order was not to apply to the expenses of the Royal Households, or to the annuities granted to the King's sons, Thomas and John. The question was, of course, bound to come up for consideration at Coventry.

Messengers bearing the necessary instructions were sent out from Lichfield on the 29th of August. On the same day, an order was issued to William Clifford, requiring him to hand over the fortress of [2]Fastcastle to the King's son, John, by the 8th of September next.

The interval between the dismissal of the Council at Lichfield, and the next meeting of the Parliament was spent in carrying forward the negociations with Scotland, France, and Flanders. Acting on the recommendation of his Council, Henry passed this autumn in his manors and castles in the North, away from the capital and from the disturbed districts on the Borders of Wales. On [3]September 1st, he left Lichfield for Tutbury, where he remained until the 17th. He then went for a short stay to [4]Ravendale, near Grimsby, returning to Staffordshire again, before the meeting of Parliament. On the 29th of

[1] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 5. [2] RYM., viii, 370; ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 237; CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 1. [3] ROT. SCOT., ii, 170. [4] September 13th-25th. ROT. SCOT., ii, 170; RYM., viii, 372. PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 2, contains documents, dated Ravensdale, September 18th and 21st, 1404. In the same Roll (m. 1, 3, 4; pt. i, 8, 32; also CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 1, 3) are abundance of documents, dated Tutbury, September 1st, 3rd, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 22nd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th.

September, he was at [1]Maxstoke Castle, in Warwickshire. But feebleness and inactivity brought further trouble in their train, and the nation was again taught the lesson (perhaps not without the King's connivance)—*Bellum para si pacem velis.*

Two Commissioners from the King of Scotland arrived at Tutbury [2](September 16th), tendering the oath to Henry in the name of King Robert. The oath was taken and formally attested, and, on [3]September 23rd, eight Commissioners were nominated to represent the English King at the meeting which was to take place at Haudenstank, on October 8th. Thus in that quarter it seemed as though matters were proceeding quietly.

With Flanders the proposals for a truce were in abeyance. After negociations had been opened on both sides with every prospect of a settlement, the two countries had relapsed suddenly into an attitude of mutual suspicion and distrust. Knowing that a large fleet was collecting in the Downs, the Flemish believed that England was preparing to invade their country. Resuming their predatory habits, they again fell to plundering English shipping. Some English traders were attacked in [4]Middelburg, and forced to retreat. In revenge, a number of English landed [5](August 14th), on an island called Wlpen (probably Zwen), near Sluys, burnt a church, set fire to several houses, plundered the farms and carried off cattle and other property. Nearly [6]40 fishing vessels from the North of England were surrounded by Flemish privateers in one night, [7]while their nets were out. Several of the fishermen were drowned, the rest (more than [8]500 in number) were captured and carried off to Dunkirk, where it was said that the plunder was openly disposed

[1] PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 8. [2] RYM., viii, 372. [3] ROT. SCOT., ii, 170. [4] ROY. LET., i, 389. [5] *Ibid*, i, 363, 386. [6] Variously given as 27, 28, or 37, in ROY. LET., 355, 377, 386, 389. [7] *Ibid*, i, 358. [8] The numbers were at first given as 166 or 168 (*Ibid*, i, 316, 345); but they were afterwards ascertained to be nearly 600 (*Ibid*, i. 353).

of with the connivance of the Duchess of Burgundy. A sum of [1]3,000 nobles (£1,000) was demanded as ransom for the captives.

But a more notable capture was made about this time, in the person of [2]Robert Mascal, the English King's Confessor, lately appointed Bishop of Hereford. He was crossing from [3]Middelburg, about the beginning of September, when the vessel on which he sailed was boarded by Flemish pirates. Some resistance was offered, but the English crew were overmastered and flung into the sea (or, in the barbarous [4]slang of the day, "sente hoom by water,") while the Bishop was wounded and carried off a prisoner to Dunkirk. Remonstrances followed and passionate demonstrations of feeling, so that it was not likely that much benefit would come of the proposed meeting of envoys, which was fixed to take place at Santyngfeld, on the 25th of September. To add to the difficulties, two of the English Commissioners failed to attend, pleading sickness or other excuse; the other two became clamorous for their arrears of pay, [5]urging that "no man goeth a warfare at his own cost," and threatening to return to England and lay their case before the Parliament.

In these unpromising circumstances, [6]came a notification from the Duchess of Burgundy that she would refuse to admit representatives of the Flemish cities to the proposed conference, though they had quite expected to be called upon to take their part. The Duchess, however, would only treat in the name of herself and through her own nominees, and so the appointed day came and no meeting was held at all. Remonstrances did not cease to pass, the English demanding the unconditional

[1]Roy. Let., i, 390. [2]*Ibid*, i, 310, 316. [3]*Ibid*, i, 389. [4]Cf. the Schipman, in Chaucer, Prol. 399:—

"If that he faughte and hadde the heigher hand,
By water he sente hem hoom to every land."

[5]Roy. Let., i, 332. [6]*Ibid*, i, 338.

release of Bishop Mascal and the northern fishermen, and the dispersal of the Flemish armament then collecting at [1]Nieuport, Lombardzyde, Ostend, Dunkirk, Biervliet, and Sluys.

We shall not be far wrong in looking for the finger of France in all this shiftiness and delay, the Duchess being more in sympathy with the interests of the French and the family of her late husband than with those of her own Flemish subjects and people. Her grand-daughter, Margaret, was recently married to Louis, eldest son of the French King, a boy seven years old. The match had been formally [2]contracted in the previous year (1403), before the death of the Duke of Burgundy, but the marriage did not take place till [3]August 30th, 1404. Communications addressed to the Duchess by the English representatives were not allowed to pass through French territory, but were [4]violently seized by order of the governor of Boulogne.

But, on the part of the burgesses of the Flemish towns at least, there was an evident desire to come to terms with England as soon as possible, and to secure a return of the once steady and prosperous trade which had been for years interrupted owing to ill-feeling between England and France. The representatives of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, wrote separately to the English envoys in plain homely language, without the [5]circumlocution of diplomatic phrases *(ex quâdam grossitie et ruditate, absque debitâ forsan digestione.)* They stated that they were ready in Ypres when they had received orders countermanding their presence. The English were empowered to open separate negociations, but the occasion was not yet considered opportune, and it was hoped that the [6]Duchess would consent to a formal renewal of communications by October 9th. This step was of great importance, as it was everywhere assumed that Flanders was entirely under French influence. [7]Almost all the public

[1] ROY. LET., i, 346, 349, 358. [2] JUV., 424. [3] *Ibid*, 428. [4] ROY. LET., i, 348. [5] *Ibid*, i, 340. [6] *Ibid*, i, 353. [7] *Ibid*, i, 379.

offices were filled by Frenchmen, and it was supposed that the whole country was practically a French province.

In France, on the other hand, the warlike spirit was all awake. A certain limited armistice, within a circumscribed area, extending over [1]Picardy, from the Somme to the Aa at Gravelines, had been agreed upon to last [2]till November 1st. But on the subject of a general peace the French still delayed their answer. At length, [3]on September 19th, 1404, the English representatives announced that they had just received a communication in which the French declined positively to negociate for a final peace before November 1st, when the period of the limited armistice would expire. They intimated that in their opinion this was only a treacherous blind, to cover the intended landing in Wales, where the armistice was not binding, but they hinted pretty plainly that, if Henry could strengthen and defend his position in Wales, he might be tolerably sure of a peaceful settlement with France.

In the meantime, it was known that a large and formidable force was prepared at [4]Harfleur, and in other ports of Normandy, ready to make a descent either on Wales or in the Orwell, before the end of the month of September. The [5]Duke of Orleans and the Earl of St. Pol were still the chief instigators of ill-will, throwing all blame on Henry for the death of Richard II., and reiterating the claim for payment of the 200,000 francs.

September closed, and the expedition had not started; but, on the [6]6th of October, the negociators wrote that the French fleet was perfectly ready, and that many volunteers who had not been able to find room on board the ships had passed over to Sluys, where a fleet of 37 Flemish vessels had collected. These were soon joined [7](circ. October 10th) by twelve large transport vessels, filled with armed men, and abundance of chopped hay.

[1] Roy. Let., i, 370. [2] *Ibid*, i, 318, 378. [3] *Ibid*, i, 329. [4] *Ibid*, i, 333, 368. [5] *Ibid*, i, 339. [6] *Ibid*, i, 368. [7] *Ibid*, i, 380.

Supplies of fodder were ready in Sluys, sufficient for 3,000 horses, while enough for as many more was stored at Harfleur. Their exact destination was not known, but it was rumoured that they would at once put to sea, either to help the French or to plunder the English fishing-boats, or perhaps to attack their Northern neighbour, the Count of Holland.

From many quarters warnings were showered in on the English Council, but they did not give up the possibility of a friendly understanding. They prepared to treat with the French on [1]October 15th, while the Duchess of Burgundy answered their threats and angry remonstrances with a polite disclaimer, laying the blame upon England, but asserting her readiness yet to arrive at a friendly settlement.

Such was the exact position of affairs when Henry's sixth Parliament met at Coventry, on Monday, October 6th, 1404.

[1] ROY. LET., i, 375.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE "ILLITERATE" PARLIAMENT.

THE Parliament met in a large room in the [1]Priory of St. Mary, at Coventry. Exactly five years had elapsed since Henry's first Parliament met on St. Faith's Day (October 6th), 1399. The Bishop of Lincoln, as Chancellor, gave the usual address, and made the usual statement as to the reasons for calling the Houses together. He referred to the dangers threatening from the Welsh, the French, and the Bretons, and told the members that in England an invasion was every day expected, while in Guienne it had already begun. Under these circumstances they were not to be surprised that they had been called together again so soon after the last Parliament, when he told them that the sums then voted had proved to be altogether insufficient, and that no adequate measures had been possible for dealing with the insurrection in Wales.

The Commons then retired to elect their Speaker, and on the following day (Tuesday, October 7th), they nominated Sir William Sturmy, or Sturmyn, a [2]South country gentleman, who then sat as one of the Knights of the Shire for [3]Devonshire. The appointment was accepted in the usual form.

The King then announced that he had taken counsel with the Lords as to the amount of grant that would be necessary, and in the presence of pressing danger he urged the Commons to omit all other subjects from their consideration, and to make the money question their first and principal care. They were

[1]ROT. PARL., iii, 545. [2]ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 87. He is called "Sturmy," in PAT., 2 H. IV., 2, 9. [3]RETURN OF NAMES OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, i, 266.

to meet from day to day, the Lords at eight o'clock in the morning, the Commons at seven. The Parliament was not dissolved till November 13th, after a session of 38 days, but the number of measures entered on the Statute Book amounts to only four, all of them being short and insignificant amendments of existing Acts, while the Roll of Parliament exhibits an unexampled syncopation, only one sitting being recorded (viz., October 25th), until the last two days (November 11th and 12th) before the dissolution. The mere question of money could have been settled in a far shorter time, had the Commons been agreed, but it is more than likely that they met the King's request with the same dogged opposition as in the earlier months of the year, until the arrival of constantly more alarming news broke down their resolution in the presence of immediate danger.

The 15th of October was at hand, and no arrangements had been made for a meeting with the representatives of France. The preparations at Sluys and Harfleur did not abate, and on the [1] 14th of October, one of the King's Commissioners at Calais wrote to the Mayor of London, requesting that he would take steps to guard the Channel, in view of the coming peril. Fifteen thousand men and horses, it was said, were collected at Harfleur, with provisions for half-a-year, ready to make a descent upon Bordeaux and Wales. In the latter country, they were to occupy or rebuild abandoned castles, and establish themselves therein, while a like number were ready at Sluys, prepared for a landing at Sandwich, or some place on the Eastern coasts. Spaniards and Prussians (from the Baltic) were joining the two expeditions. Gravelines, on the Flemish Border, was [2] a "den of robbers," from whence plunderers issued to spoil the country within the English pale, and it was feared that a rapid assault would be made upon Calais, which was altogether unprepared

[1] ROY. LET., i, 384. [2] *Ibid*, i, 392, 405.

for resistance, both in artillery, ammunition, provisions, and men. Under these circumstances, the Mayor of London was urgently appealed to, to protect the Channel, and prevent all traffic being diverted to Bordeaux and the South.

On the [1]13th of October, the French representatives wrote another letter of procrastination, stating that it was impossible to arrange a meeting by the 15th, but that they would be prepared for the 20th or 21st. In the face of these delays, a sharp [2]letter was sent to the Duchess of Burgundy, threatening that intercourse and negociations must be broken off between England and Flanders unless the Bishop and the other captives were released, their property restored, and the fleet at Sluys disbanded before November 1st.

The French Ambassadors were at Paris, and it was some days before their communications could be delivered to the English representatives in Calais. As a fact, they were not received until the [3]20th of October, and the English had no alternative but to propose a further delay, seeing that no safe-conducts had been provided, and none could possibly be procured in time. In the meantime, the French envoys were on their way. On the 20th of October, they were at [4]Montreuil, from which place they wrote proposing a meeting at Marquise, on Wednesday, October 22nd. The English immediately replied, [5]appointing Friday, 24th, or Saturday, 25th October, as the earliest possible day of meeting, and objecting that the conference should not take place at Marquise, which was on French ground, but at Lenlyngham, on the Border. They at once addressed a further letter from Calais to the King at Coventry, complaining that seven or more of their communications had remained without answer. One of them, Nicholas [6]Ryssheton, threatened that he would not remain at his post

[1] Roy. Let., i, 381. [2] *Ibid*, i, 391. [3] *Ibid*, i, 393. [4] *Ibid*, i, 395. [5] *Ibid*, i, 397. [6] Sometimes spelt "Rixton," *e.g.*, Pells Issue Roll, 4 H. IV., Pasch., May 21st.

after November 1st, but that he must return to England for a personal interview with the King.

On Friday, October 24th, a preliminary meeting was held at Lenlyngham, where it was arranged that further time should be allowed, during which one of the English envoys should cross to England and have an interview with the King, to see if regular negociations could not be set on foot. A period of 15 days was allowed for this necessary interval, and it was agreed that the French representatives would remain at Boulogne until Friday, November 8th, or thereabouts, in expectation of some ultimate genuine progress.

Ryssheton at once crossed to England, and proceeded to Coventry, where he had an interview with the King, on November 1st, the day on which the limited armistice was to expire. On the following day, he wrote to the French envoys and to the Duchess of Burgundy, expressing hopes of a favourable solution. Accordingly, on the [1]12th of November, near the close of the session of Parliament, Commissioners were appointed to treat with France, Flanders, and the Duchess of Burgundy. They had power to continue their deliberations without interruption till the following May, with a view to the establishment of a permanent peace, though, in the instructions issued to them [2](dated November 12th and 13th, 1404), very little hope is entertained of the possibility of a friendly settlement.

The Commissioners were reminded that experience had shown that no faith could be put in mere promises made by the French. The claim for repayment of the 200,000 francs was to be met by a reference to the unpaid ransom of King John.

Even before the Parliament had assembled, hostilities had begun on the borders of [3]Guienne. The islands of Jersey and

[1] RYM., viii, 374, 379. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., i, 238-243. [3] ROT. PARL., iii, 545.

Guernsey had been pillaged and made to pay black mail to the French Admiral. The great armaments at Harfleur and Sluys had not disbanded, but the long threatened invasion seemed unaccountably to hang fire.

The Welsh were not idle. In Glamorgan, the castle of Coitiff was still besieged, and all efforts failed to relieve it. From the middle of August to the middle of November, a French fleet, under the command of the Count de la Marche, had hovered between Brest and the Southern coasts, keeping the country in constant alarm. But [1]no landing had yet been effected; the winter was fast coming on, and the Channel storms would soon be England's best protection. The chief need of the English was money, and from the opening of the Parliament the raising of money formed the great and absorbing subject of debate.

The immediate apprehension of invasion had not deterred the Commons from making their usual reply. Why could not the King live "of his own," as his predecessors had done? Why should continually increasing sums be voted year by year, to be followed only by increasing demands, accompanied by continued insecurity in the country, incompetence in the government, and decay of trade? For many days they stubbornly refused to tax themselves, and on [2]Saturday, October 25th, they presented a petition, including the following proposals:—

> That all lands, manors, castles, etc., which had previously belonged to the Crown, and which had been granted away, either for life or for a term of years, since the year 1367 (40 Edward III.), without special consent of Parliament, should be resumed by the Crown.
>
> Out of the revenues arising from these grants, all

[1] JUV., 431. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 547.

payments were to be made for the royal household and wardrobe, the dower of the Queen, and the allowances of the Princes.

The surplus revenues (if any remained over after satisfying the above claims) were to be employed in recompensing the holders of the properties thus suddenly to be recalled.

Those who could show that they had paid for these grants, might have the option of retaining them in payment of a fair rent for the future.

Grants made previously to 1367 were not to be interfered with, but if hereafter they should lapse to the King, in ordinary course, they were not to be again renewed.

Gifts of wine, and other commodities, with which the customs of every port had long been saddled, were to be entirely cancelled.

These heroic proposals were certainly sweeping and thorough. It will be [1]remembered that they were already provisionally in force since the order issued by the Council, at Lichfield, August 28th. But the times were desperate, and called for desperate remedies. Moreover, all the property-holding classes were affected by them alike, not only the great Lords and Barons, the Bishops and Abbots, but boroughs and cities, and even humble individuals, who received their one barrel of wine each year at some stated port, in return for service rendered or money lent by their husbands or fathers in this or the previous reign.

The Petition, being presented as embodying the wishes not of the Commons alone, was accepted graciously by the King, [2]"as gode reson asketh and alle estates thynken the same." A Commission was promised, which should enquire into the circumstances of all grants before carrying the recommendations

[1] Page 463. [2] ROT. PARL., iii, 549.

into effect. In the meantime, to lessen the distress in which many would be plunged, it was provided that for one year (viz., from Easter, 1404, to Easter, 1405) holders of these grants should be considered as having *lent* the proceeds to the King, and that the money should be recoverable from the Exchequer like an ordinary loan. Proclamations were to be sent to every county, requiring all who were concerned to produce their Letters Patent, for examination and revision, before the next Candlemas (February 2nd, 1405.)

From the first, the hungry eyes of the Knights of Parliament had turned again to the tempting wealth of the Church. Why, it was asked, should tenants toil and soldiers fight, when churchmen were idling in luxury? If they could not be made to fight, let them at least be made to pay for others to fight for them; and the same outburst of rage was witnessed at Coventry that had been seen before at Worcester. Some modern writers have seen in this commotion the work of the Lollards, who are supposed to have now [1] "become a political sect, and to have attained a majority in Parliament." But there is nothing whatever to warrant this assumption, which is quite unsupported by evidence, and altogether contrary to all the probabilities of the case.

The Archbishop of Canterbury had withstood this storm before, and he now prepared himself to resist it again in the interests of the purses and property of his order. He braced himself to the task, reflecting on the glory won by his great predecessors, [2] Becket and Rich. But the days of martyrdom were passed for Archbishops and politicians. Archbishop Arundel worked with earthly weapons, and achieved the solid satisfaction of a success on earth, even if he missed the shadowy glory accorded to a canonized St. Thomas or St. Edmund.

[1] HOOK, iv, 486. See also STUBBS (iii, 551), who, however, pictures these "Wycliffite Knights" as a "pertinacious minority." [2] ANN., 391.

Aided by the Archbishop of York, and the eloquent Bishop of Rochester (John de Botlesham), he appealed to the King's intelligence. He showed that the clergy [1]contributed far more, and more frequently, than the laity; that their tenants followed the King's standard in larger numbers than those of their opponents; and, dropping on one knee before the King, he claimed the benefit of the Great Charter, and adjured him not to forget his oath that the rights of the Church should be upheld.

Seeing the impression he had made upon the King, he turned upon the Knights of Parliament, with the [2]Speaker at their head, and rated them roundly: "You urged your King to confiscate the wealth of the foreign priories and abbeys, promising him untold riches, and yet his necessities are as great as before. Now you urge him to seize the wealth of the Church at home, that you may yourselves be the gainers. [3]"Myn hed schal rather bow onto the swerd than Holy Cherch schuld lose any part of hir rite." Appealing to the Lords, with the Duke of York at their head, he warned them to look to their own possessions, which were threatened from the same insatiable quarter. The King had neither the will nor the unwisdom to countenance the attack. He had, indeed, no safer nor wealthier supporters than the Clergy and the Archbishop. [4]The Bishop of Durham had lately advanced to him 1,800 marks, and Archbishop Arundel 1,000 marks, in his difficulty with the previous Parliament. The proposal was therefore abandoned, and the temporal goods of the Church were safe for a time.

By this time it had become distinctly [5]known that a formal

[1] "Remembir the wel that at every task (= tax) the cherch hath payed as mech as the lay fe."—CAPGR., 257. STUBBS (iii, 365) asserts that "the proportion of direct taxation borne by the clergy amounted to nearly a third of the whole direct taxation of the nation"; though ROGERS (i. 160) has shown that "as far as concerns the wants of the state, the clergy were far more lightly burdened than the laity." [2]Wrongly called John Cheyne, in WALS., ii, 266. [3]CAPGR., 288. [4]CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 3. [5]ROT. PARL., iii, 546.

alliance had been concluded between the French and Owen. On the [1]26th of October, orders were despatched to the Sheriffs, calling on them to summon the forces of each county to resist the expected invasion. The attempted attack upon Church property had been baffled, and there seemed no sufficient reasonable cause for prolonging the debates, but to proceed to action.

The coasts were visited by violent storms, which caused great damage from inundation in the South and East. Superstition would appropriate this visitation to its own purposes, and though it was soon known that the [2]opposite coasts of Holland and Flanders had suffered in precisely the same way, and though the Archbishop of Canterbury was himself one of the principal sufferers from the effects of the floods, yet the feeling would be too strong, in the minds of the vast majority, that these calamities were but the judgments of an offended God, taking vengeance on the impiety of his spoilers and enemies. Add to this that Coventry was very ill supplied with provisions, and, in view of the unwonted influx of strangers, the [3]prices of corn and wine had been artificially forced up. The water was bad and scarce. The [4]Prior was at feud with the citizens for tapping his conduit, and there was great mortality from [5]dysentery all around. In the face of all these facts, it seemed best to the members to arrive at once at a speedy decision, and to separate and return to their homes.

Accordingly, on the 11th of November, the largest grant that had ever been made to Henry was formally sanctioned, and the King obtained the whole of his demands.

All owners of taxable property were to pay at the rate of two-tenths and two-fifteenths, upon the sworn value of their moveable possessions, according as they lived in or outside of

[1] RYM., viii, 374. [2] WALS., ii, 267. [3] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 1. [4] ROT. PARL., iii, 551. [5] ANN., 394.

boroughs. This would amount to a tax of 20 per cent., or 13⅓ per cent., respectively, and was just double the usual amount. It was to be paid in instalments—one half by Christmas, and the two remaining quarters by the next June 24th (Midsummer Day) and November 11th (half-quarter day), respectively, so that all would be claimable within a year. Also all persons (being laymen) who drew an income of 500 marks (£333 6s. 8d.) per annum, and upwards, were to pay 5 per cent., or £1 out of every £20. Moreover, the three years' grant on the Customs would expire September 29th, 1405, and it was enacted that this should be renewed for two years, to the full amount, from that date, viz.: 50s. and 60s. on every sack of wool, the usual subsidy charged to English and foreign traders respectively; also, 3s. on every tun of wine, and 1s. in the £, or 5 per cent., on all commodities entering or leaving the country by sea. In granting the "subsidy," it was expressly specified that it *included* the "old Custom" (6s. 8d.), which had gradually, by tacit encroachment, been superadded as a surtax upon the 50s. voted by the Parliament. It was now acknowledged that the parliamentary grant was really only 43s. 4d. and 53s. 4d., respectively, so that the total amount (including the "old Custom") should not exceed 50s. and 60s. At present, the duty reached 56s. 8d. and 66s. 8d. The extra half mark (6s. 8d.) was [1]petitioned against, and the injustice was admitted, but the exaction was to be remitted, or "pardoned," only on condition that it was continued at least up to September 29th, 1405.

In making these grants, it was expressly stipulated that they were not intended to satisfy past debts, but to be expended only to meet present or future necessities in the defence of the country. All who should apply for, receive, or present either Letters Patent or under Privy Seal, claiming payment from these grants were to be adjudged guilty of treason.

[1] ROT. PARL., iii, 556.

To avoid the falsifications of accounts, and deceptions, that had been frequently practised in the past, fresh [1]collectors and controllers were to be appointed at the customs' ports, and no member of Parliament was allowed to hold the office. But, above all, it was insisted that two "War Treasurers" should be appointed, who should be responsible to Parliament, and should have absolute control over the expenditure of the money, with the sole exception of the half-mark on each sack of wool. It was added, that the whole grant would be considered as cancelled, if a sufficient army were not raised, by the end of January, to protect the seas and Guienne, and the borders of Wales and Scotland.

On the same day, the two War Treasurers took the oath in the presence of the King and the Lords, They were Thomas Neville, Lord Furnival, or "Sir Thomas de Furnyvale," brother to the Earl of Westmoreland; and Sir John [2]Pelham, governor of Pevensey Castle, and one of the representatives for the county of Sussex.

Lastly, it was stipulated that the grant should not be made a precedent without consent of Parliament, and, after a number of private petitions had been dealt with, the Parliament was dissolved on Friday, November 14th, 1404. On the [3]16th of November, the King was at the royal castle of Killingworth, near Newcastle-on-Tyne.

A word or two may be said here as to the composition of the remarkable assemblage which passed so readily such sweeping and heroic measures of reform. The original writs, with the endorsements of the members returned, together with their sureties (or manucaptors), are not preserved, but the [4]Close Roll

[1] STAT., p. 149. [2] ORD. PRIV. CO., ii, 87; RYM., viii, 388; PRYNNE, 474. EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT. ($\frac{42}{12}$) contains a file of 43 indentures witnessing the delivery of sums of money to them by the collectors of customs, &c., dated 7 H. IV. (*i.e.*, 1406-7.) [3] EXCHEQ. TREAS. OF RECPT., MISC. $\frac{21\,a}{8}$ (14). [4] CLAUS. 5 H. IV., 2, 4, in tergo, dated Lichfield, August 25th.

contains a specimen copy of the writ addressed to Sheriffs of counties, and we know the names of the members who were actually returned. The usual 37 counties (excluding Chester, Durham, and Monmouth) returned each two Knights, and in this respect the Parliament of Coventry did not differ from its predecessors. But when we look over the returns from cities and boroughs, we come upon a striking contrast.

In the four preceding Parliaments of this reign, the number of boroughs and cities which had sent representatives had fluctuated in a remarkable way. Thus, in 1399, the number of boroughs represented (excluding the Cinque Ports) was 79; in 1400, there were only 14; in 1402, 73; in 1403, only 16. In this year, 1404, the number fell to 5, none of them being of the first rank or importance, viz., Derby, Rochester, Grimsby, Lincoln, and Scarboro' The reason for these abstentions is nowhere stated, but it may perhaps be found in the fact that the writs issued contained, in addition to the usual exceptions, a new proviso, viz,, [1]that "no apprentice or any other man at law" should under any circumstances be elected. In introducing this proviso, the King followed a precedent set by [2]Edward III., in 1372, and for this unconstitutional act he was subsequently [3]called to account.

Monkish writers, enraged at the impiety of the members of this Parliament, and delighted at the failure of its attacks upon the property of the Church, have dubbed [4]it "The Illiterate Parliament." In spite, however, of the exclusion of the lawyers (all of them, of course, ecclesiastics), it is certain that their interests were not overlooked, for in the [5]proposal for taxing wages, annuities, and fees, special exception is made in the cases of the Judges, Sergeants at-Law, and Barons of the Exchequer.

[1] "Aut apprenticius sive aliquis alius homo ad legem aliqualitur sit electus." [2] STUBBS, iii, 46, 401. [3] *Ibid*, iii, 390. [4] ANN., 391. STOW (330) calls it the "Laymen's Parliament." [5] ROT. PARL., iii, 549.

But, if the Parliament was really composed of "illiterates," they showed an exceptional amount of temperate statemanship in dealing with a great emergency, and succeeded in providing for the necessities of the time without exempting the wealthy or laying the burden exclusively on any one class of the community.

Before separating, they petitioned that measures should be taken at once and put immediately into execution. The Earl of Arundel, Lord Powys, and Lord Furnival were to undertake the defence of Hereford and Shropshire, while the owners of castles on the Border of Wales were to lay in provisions and material enough for a proper defence.

In vindication of their loyalty, and in gratitude for the preservation of their temporal goods, the Clergy of the Southern Province met in [1]Convocation at St. Paul's, on Monday, November 24th. In [2]addition to the tenth voted earlier in the year, the second instalment of which was not yet due, they voted a further sum of three-twentieths (or 15 per cent.), though there were not wanting evidences of their discontent; and the King did not scruple to express his [3]dissatisfaction at their reluctance.

The Northern clergy, who had met and voted their grant only a few weeks previously, were summoned again, and [4]sat at York, from December 11th to December 17th. They then adjourned till January 14th, 1405. They likewise granted a tenth, though they stipulated that their former grant, due by instalments in January and November, ought to be sufficient for the present. By way of concession, they agreed to abolish all exemptions, and to tax every living, however small.

Thus it would seem that money would not be wanting—enough, at least, to repel all attacks, if properly employed.

[1] Conc., iii, 280. [2] Ann., 394. [3] See the Archbishop's letter (dated Maidstone, December 7th, 1404), in Conc., iii, 280; Roy. Let., i, 413. [4] Conc., iii, 281.

The French had not appeared. The year closed with a fair prospect of security. The King returned to Westminster, and Christmas was spent peacefully at [1]Eltham.

This year had seen many changes amongst the ecclesiastics. Four English Bishops had died, leaving vacancies to be filled in the sees of Hereford, Rochester, Bangor, London, Lincoln, and Winchester.

On the [2]6th of April, John Trevenant, Bishop of Hereford, had died. The Pope nominated to the vacancy our friend the chronicler, [3]Adam of Usk, who was then at Rome; but the nomination was set aside, and poor, disappointed Adam was left for four years without preferment, "like Joseph, in a land of strangers whose tongue he knew not." On the 12th of September, 1404, he wrote a tenderly reproachful letter to King Henry, timidly hinting ingratitude for the past. On the [4]2nd of July, the vacancy had been filled by the appointment of the Carmelite Friar, Robert Mascal, who, a few weeks afterwards, unluckily fell into the irreverent hands of Flemish corsairs. He had been the King's Confessor since [5]November 6th, 1401, in which capacity he had been constantly about the Court, having "four horses and a hakeney," with an allowance of 3s. per day, besides sufficient for the maintenance of four servants.

The death of John Botlesham, Bishop of Rochester, is placed by some as early as [6]April 17th, but he seems to have been alive in [7]October, and able by his eloquent tongue to give great help to Archbishop Arundel, in defence of the property of the Church. He died, however, before the end of the year 1404, and was succeeded by Richard Young, previously Bishop of Bangor.

A vacancy occurred in the see of London on [8]August 28th, 1404, by the death of Bishop Robert Braybrooke. The King

[1] ANN., 397. [2] CONC., iii, 278. See the Congé d'élire (dated April 12th, 1404), in PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 23. [3] USK, 83. [4] *Ibid*, 209. [5] PAT., 3 H. IV., 1, 29. [6] MONAST., i, s. v. [7] ANN., 397. [8] ROY. LET., i, 416, quoting GODWIN, i, 186. See the Congé d'élire (dated September 10th, 1404), in PAT., 5 H. IV., 2, 1.

pressed for the election of two of his own nominees in succession; one of them was [1]Guy de Mona, Bishop of St. Davids, and had this arrangement been carried out, Adam of Usk would again have had a chance of promotion. But the Pope refused his sanction; Adam was again thwarted, and the ex-Archbishop, Roger Walden, became Bishop of London, December 10th, 1404, mainly through the support of his old opponent, Archbishop Arundel.

By the death of William of Wykeham, at the age of 82, a vacancy occurred in the wealthy see of Winchester. The venerable politician and ex-Chancellor had been long disabled for work. On [2]January 4th, 1402, he took advantage of a Papal Bull, previously obtained, to appoint coadjutors, and thenceforward he took no further part in episcopal duties. He was unable even to be present at the King's marriage, at Winchester, February 7th, 1403, and he died at South Waltham, near Winchester, on the [3]27th of September, 1404. His memory was greatly revered by the clergy, who benefited by his rich foundations at Winchester and Oxford. His [4]will is dated July 24th, 1403. In it, amongst other interesting benefactions, he left £500 to the King, as remission of part of a loan, and £200 to poor prisoners in Newgate and other gaols in the Southern counties. His books consist of mass books and books of offices, together with others bearing such titles as "Catholicon," "Rationale Divinorum," "Floriarium Bartholomæi," "Thomas" (*i.e.*, Life of St. Thomas of Canterbury), "Pars Oculi," etc.

The vacancy thus created at Winchester was filled by the elevation of the young Chancellor, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Lincoln, and half-brother to the King. He was succeeded at Lincoln by Abbot Philip Repingdon, of Leicester, the ex-Lollard who was now considered safe enough to be entrusted with the

[1] Usk, 89. [2] Lowth, 270. [3] *Ibid*, 283; Ann., 391. Conc. (iii, 279) contains a letter signed by him, dated July 17th, 1404. [4] Lowth, 384.

castigation of these heretics, his former bosom-friends and associates in his freer and earlier days. These changes took place about the [1]close of the year 1404.

Lastly, about the same time came a notification of the death of Pope Boniface IX., at Rome. After 15 years of wrangling and dispute, Boniface had consented at last to receive a deputation from his rival, Pope Benedict XIII., from Avignon, on the subject of restoring union within the Church. [2]Neither side was in earnest; but a conference was at length arranged, and, after some [3]preliminary skirmishing as to the title by which Boniface should be addressed, the representatives of Benedict were admitted on September 29th, 1404. The French Archbishop of St. Pons spoke on behalf of the deputation from Avignon, and concluded a [4]studiously moderate and temperate address with these words: "Most dread Lord, if you feel not for others souls, my Lord, at least (*i.e.*, Benedict), declares himself prepared for some means of union even to death." "Your Lord is a false schismatic and Antichrist," burst out old Boniface, [5]in anger. "Saving your Reverence, Father, not so," said the Archbishop, "my Lord (*i.e.*, Benedict) is holy, just, true, catholic, and sits on the very seat of Peter; and, besides," he added with emphasis, "he is not a [6]*simoniac.*" This galling taunt stung Boniface where least he could bear it. He was old, and [7]suffering from a loathsome and incurable disease. He had not strength or power to reply. He ordered the embassy out, retired to his room, and died in great agony two days afterwards, [8]October 1st, 1404.

Adam of Usk, who was in Rome at the time, had two curious dreams on the day (St. Michael's Day) on which the conference

[1] MONAST. (s. v. LINCOLN), says November 19th; but, as late as December 5th (RYM., viii, 379) and December 7th (ROY. LET., i, 413) Beaufort is still called Bishop of Lincoln. [2] USK, 85. [3] JUV., 430. [4] "Perquam discrete et solerter."—THEOD. à NIEM, in RINALDI, 17, 274. [5] "Parum benigniter."—*Ibid.* [6] "Both he that selleth and he that byeth things spiritual ben called simoniackes."—CHAUCER, Parson's Tale, p. 560. [7] "Quamvis torsionibus intolerabilibus cotidie quatitur."—GOBELIN, in MEIBOM, I., 323. [8] GREENWOOD, vi, 486.

was held. He saw St. Peter, seated and fully vested, fling down to the ground another sorry and dirty Pope, who was sitting on his left. Again, he saw in his dream a fox, driven by the dogs into a stream, just keeping its nose above the water by catching at an overhanging willow bough, and then sneaking off into its hole. "The fox," he says, "is always greedy, but always lean; and, though he was stuffed with simony, he was never satisfied even to his grave." A German friend also showed Adam a letter, which said that a holy man in the North had seen St. Michael give Boniface a smart slap in the face and knock him down.

These [1]"warnyngs of thinges that schuln after falle," like little straws of gossip blown down from the far-off past, show us how hollow was the lip-service paid to Popes, even by devoted churchmen and downright adherents, when their own pockets were touched. If abstract doctrine is in question, the Pope is [2]"the most Blessed Father of Fathers, and alone incapable of error, the very Lord Jesus Christ," who can pronounce judgment "for reasons unknown to us but clear to him," against which "all exception is null and all appeal idle." But, in [3]1402, Pope Boniface, having previously sold indulgences, graces, livings, and benefices to the highest bidder, suddenly revoked his grants and sold them over again. Then [4]"thei seide pleynly that it was no more trost to the Pope writing than to a dogge tail."

The new Pope, an Italian, Cosmo Megliorotto, of Sulmona, Cardinal Bishop of Bologna, was elected at Rome amidst riot and tumult, on the [5]17th of October, 1404. He was solemnly installed on the 2nd of November, and took the title of Innocent VII. We have a graphic picture of the riotous condition of Rome at this time, in the narrative of Leonard

[1] CHAUCER, Nonnes Prestes Tale, 15138. [2] Extract from writings of William Feriby, an English Priest (circ. 1400), in CHRON. GILES, 14. [3] GOBELIN, Cosmodrom., æt. vi, ch. lxxxvii, p. 320. [4] CAPGR., 281. [5] Contelorio's Catalogue, in RINALDI, xvii, 275.

Bruni, of Arezzo, Secretary Apostolic to [1]Innocent VII. and his three successors. Bruni was summoned to Rome immediately after the election of Innocent, and describes what he saw. His own life was in danger in the streets, and he only escaped from the fury of the citizens by dismounting from his horse, and changing clothes with a servant in an entry. He was with the Pope afterwards, when he fled from Rome in the night, to Sutri and Viterbo.

The new Pope was 68 years old (*ætate grandævus*). He knew something of England, [2]having once resided there as Papal Collector, in the time of [3]Urban VI. (1378-1389) in the early part of the reign of Richard II. Before his election he had pledged himself to strive his utmost for the [4]unity of the Church, even if it should involve his own resignation. He lost no time in opening the question. On the [5]27th of December, an encyclical letter was forwarded to the Archbishops of Cologne, Mayence, Treves, Salzburg, Prague, Canterbury, York, Pisa, Ravenna, and others, requesting them to send proper representatives to Rome, by the next All Saints' Day (November 1st, 1405), to discuss as to the best means for rooting out this pestilent schism from the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth. In the same sense, and on the [6]same day, a letter was forwarded to Henry's Council, and brought by two Italians. The letter was considered in a Council held at Winchester, and a suitable reply was framed. But events in Rome were not favourable to deliberation, and before the arrival of All Saints' Day, the Pope had other matters pressing for his attention.

[1] ARETINUS, 254. [2] USK, 89. [3] A Niem, in RINALDI, xvii, 275. [4] GOBELIN, p. 323, ch. lxxxviii. [5] RINALDI, xvii, 276; from Contelor. in ELENCH. CARD., i, 114, &c. [6] RYM., viii, 381.

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